



JAINA SAHITYA SAMSODHAKA-STUDIES  
\*\*\*\*\* NO. 3 \*\*\*\*\*

THE  
JINIST STUDIES

BY

Dr. OTTO STEIN, Ph. D.

EDITED BY

JINA VIJAYA MUNI

Hon. Director, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay )

WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF

Dr. A. S. GOPANI, M. A., Ph. D.

(Lecturer of Ardhamagadhi, M. M. Arts College and  
N. M. Institute of Science, Andheri )

PUBLISHED BY

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# CONTENTS

I Foreword	I-IV
II Prefatory Note	V
III Abbreviations	VI
IV 1 Settlements	1-30
2 Fortifications	31-36
3 Village-authorities	36
4 Houses	37-38
5 Establishments	38-48
V Geography	49-68
VI Magistrates	68-109
1 State-officials.	68-92
2 Court-officials	92
(a) The King's officials	93-96
(b) The officials of the queen and her attendants	96-97
(c) The servant-girls from different peoples	97-109
VII Conclusion	109-112
VIII Index	113-132



To

*The Sacred Memory*

of the late

S'RĪ KESHAVLAL PREMCHAND MODI,  
OF AHMEDABAD

a pioneer Jain scholar, and a founder member of the

*Jain Sahitya Samshodhaka Samiti*

*Jina Vijaya Muni.*



## FOREWORD

Before I was asked by Mahatma Gandhi, the late, lamented father of the Indian Nation and the greatest saint of today's world, to join and offer my services to the **Gujarat Vidyapith**—the National University—which was founded by him in 1920 A.D., at Ahmedabad, I was associated, during my residence at Poona, with the activities of establishing and developing the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and **Bharat Jain Vidyalaya**. In the December of 1919, the first Oriental Conference of the Indian Orientalists was convened under the auspices of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute which was attended also by many Jain and non-Jain scholars who took keen interest in Jain literature and culture. Having been inspired and strengthened by the concrete sympathy of such non-Jain and Jain scholars as the late Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyabhushan, himself a lover and a student of Jain literature as well as the late Mansukhlal Ravji, a renowned public worker of Kathiawar and the brother of the reputed spiritualist, Śrīmad Rajachandra, and Devendra Kumar Jain of Arrah, a very enthusiastic and promising worker in the field of Jain literature, who had come to attend the conference, I founded on that very occasion a Society named **Jain Sahitya Samshodhak Samiti** (the Jain Literary Research Society) with a view to facilitate research in Jainology, and publishing of the Jain literature and I made a plan to start through it, first of all, a research quarterly Journal entitled **Jain Sahitya Samshodhaka**. Its object was to publish research articles and essays written in Hindi, Gujarati, and English.

I was able to secure, from the very beginning, a good amount of co-operation in this work, from many friends, one of whom was the late Vakil Keshavlal Premehand Modi, of Ahmedabad, a pioneer Jain scholar—to the sacred memory of whose good name I have dedicated this book—who was much enthusiastic for publishing Jain literature and who himself took deep interest in the work of editing. He had been of help to me, in many ways, in my activities of writing, editing, and making research. Whenever he could spare time for rest and retirement from his professional undertakings, he used to come to Poona and stay with me for months. He gave due co-operation to me on these occasions. I had been able to put forth efforts to publish, through the Jain Sahitya Samshodhaka Karyalaya, many Prakrit, Sanskrit and Gujarati works like the *Jitakalpacūrnṇi*, *Vijayadevamāhātmya* and *Tarangavati* (a Gujarati translation). Shriyut Modi had established through correspondence a good contact with the European scholars interested in the researches of Jain literature and he showed excessive pleasure and preparedness to provide them with necessary books, manuscripts, and informations from India. It was due to his inspiration that the research articles written even in English were published in the Jain Sahitya Samshodhaka. He made proper attempts to procure articles and essays from the learned public. It was he who had given to me the valuable dissertation of Dr. Otto Stein, published in the form of this book, for publication in the above-named quarterly. After bringing out the first volume of this quarterly, my headquarters were shifted to Ahmedabad from

Poona, and I decided, on account of the inconveniences of the Press etc. to postpone the publication of English articles in the quarterly.

After some time, I went to Europe. Having returned from there to India, I had the luck to be the guest of the jails of the British Government for the so-called crime of having actively participated in the political movement started by Mahatmaji in 1930 for getting *Swaraj*. Having come out from the jail as I got associated with founding and developing a chair for the Jain studies in Vishvabharati Shantiniketan and after that as I was unsparingly engaged in the great activity of publishing the *Singhi Jain Series*, the progress of the Jain Sahitya Samshodhaka Karyalaya, had practically come to a stop.

Just as I have mentioned in the preface of "The Jainas in the History of Indian Literature" by M. Winternitz, published as a second number of the *Jain Sahitya Samshodhaka Studies*, also the present dissertation of Dr. Otto Stein, got through my departed friend Mr. K. P. Modi, lay hidden somewhere in many a dozens of my files during my uncertain stays at Ahmedabad, Shantiniketan, and Bombay and hence it could not be easily traced out. It suddenly came up to my hand along with other similar essays and articles when I minutely looked into my books and files, one by one, which were brought, three years back, to the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan at Bombay.

After a careful perusal and keen reflection of the essay I could find that the informations stored in it were very useful and illuminating to the

students of Jain literature. No scholar has done upto now a special study of the Indian civilization as it is found outlined in the Jain Canon, has systematically portrayed it and has assessed its real value in the manner in which Dr. Otto Stein, the writer of this essay, has done.

In a brief Prefatory Note of the present essay, Dr. Stein has himself stated that this was his meagre attempt in the direction and he has shifted only "some cultural remarks" from the vast canonical literature, but a study of even these "some cultural remarks" will make abundantly clear to a zealous student that they are sufficiently illuminating "to show the treasures hidden in Jinit writings".

Dr. Otto Stein had been a celebrated professor of Indology in the University of Prague in Czechoslovakia. I am very much grieved to state that he had been an untimely victim of the last world war. As the report goes he and his wife were slaughtered by the Germans in about the month of April, 1945, in the concentration camps of Poland. May God give eternal peace to their souls!

\*

I take it as a pleasant duty to express my thanks, in conclusion, to my learned friend and colleague, Dr. A. S. Gopani, to whose efforts and labours, the publication of this book is mainly due and who, in addition to its editing, saw the book through the press from the beginning to the end and prepared the Index exhaustively.

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan,  
Bombay, 1948.

JINA VIJAYA MUNI

## Prefatory Note

The following lines, as meagre as their results may be, have a programmatical tendency: to show the treasures hidden in Jinist writings. Though only the combination of their indications with those of the Brahmanical and Buddhist literature, controlled as possible by epigraphical and not Indian records, gives a reasonable result: already for a description of the culture of ancient India, the literature, both religious and profane, of the Jinist is an inestimable source.

Inquiries of the present form are able to offer only some more or less probable results, but the occurrence of a term in a work of record, possible to be dated, destines (is destined) as the undated work. Without chronology no comprehension of India's past is possible, and therewith of her present time. The more dates we get on this way, the more the line will be completed: the line which shows the history of India and is at the same time the bond between this cultural centre and its periphery.

English is not the author's mother-tongue, as the reader will see very soon. May he be pardoned for all the weakness which the author has committed in the aim to be understood by Indian students.

PRAGUE,  
20, February, 1923. } Dr. OTTO STEIN.

## Abbreviations.

*AKM*—Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenländes.

*Ep. Ind.*—*Epigraphia Indica*.

- ERE*—Hasting's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
- Grdr.* or *Grundriss*—Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde.
- HOS*—Harvard Oriental Series.
- Ind. Ant.*—The Indian Antiquary.
- Ind. Stud.*—Indische Studien herausgegeben von A. Weber.
- JA*—Journal Asiatique.
- JAOS*—Journal of the American Oriental Society.
- JRAS*—The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- JASB*—The Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal.
- JBBRAS*—The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- Lüders' List*—A List of Brahmi Inscriptions—by H. Lüders, Ep. Ind. X Appendix.
- PTS*—Pali Text Society.
- P. W.*—Sanskrit-Wörterbuch herausg. von der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften, bearbeitet von O. Boehtingk und R. Roth.
- SBE*—Sacred Books of the East.
- SPA*—Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- SWA*—Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse.
- Zachariae, Beiträge—Beiträge zur indischen Lexikographie von Th. Zachariae, Berlin 1883.
- ZDMG*—Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
- Kalpas. I.*—*Kalpasūtra* ed. W. Schubring, Indica Heft 2, Leipzig 1905.
- Kalpas. II.*—*Kalpasūtra* ed. H. Jacobi, AKM VII, 1881.
- Pkt.—Prākrt.
- Skt.—Samskr̥t.

# JAINIST STUDIES

## Some Cultural Remarks From Jaina-Works.

\*

THE INCOMPLETENESS of Indian history we get in literature, compels the student to look for means of obtaining reasonable results of determining a fact or the time of a poetical or scientific work. When the most important proofs, viz., the inscriptions, are missing, perhaps one possibility would be to study in detail institutions, both public and private, customs, and ritual prescriptions, in short, the indications of cultural life.

In the following lines there is a slight attempt of an investigation from Jain works in the above-mentioned sense.

### I

#### 1. SETTLEMENTS.

In many places of the Jaina-canonical there occurs an enumeration of settlements, more or less changed in number and order, but always the same expressions, a so called gāma.

It is evident that Ācār., Sūtrakrt., and Kalpas. I go together in the first five places, but differ in the others; Aup. I. agrees well in the first five with Kalpas. II. The longest list is given in Utt.; in Aup. II. we have twice āgara, but it is hardly meant to be an independent word. First a synopsis of these expressions is wanted.

## JAINIST STUDIES

*Acar.*<sup>1</sup>

- 1 gāma
- 2 nagara
- 3 kheda
- 4 kabbada
- 5 madamba
- 6 paṭṭapa
- 7 dopamuha
- 8 āgara
- 9 āsama
- 10 sannivesa
- 11 nigama
- 12 rāyahāpi

*Sūtrakṛti.*<sup>2</sup>

- 1 gāma
- 2 nagara
- 3 kheda
- 4 kavvada
- 5 madamba
- 6 dopamuha
- 7 paṭṭapa
- 8 āsama
- 9 sannivesa
- 10 nigama
- 11 rāyahāpi

*Kalpas. I.*<sup>3</sup>

- 1 gāma
- 2 nagara
- 3 kheda
- 4 kavvada
- 5 madamba
- 6 paṭṭapa
- 7 āgara
- 8 dopamuha
- 9 nigama
- 10 rāyahāpi
- 11 āsama
- 12 sannivesa
- 13 samvāha
- 14 ghosa
- 15 aṃsiya
- 16 puḍabheyāṇa

*Kalpas. II.*<sup>4</sup>

- 1 gāma
- 2 āgara
- 3 nagara
- 4 kheda
- 5 kabbada
- 6 madamba
- 7 dopamuha
- 8 paṭṭapa
- 9 āsama
- 10 sambāha
- 11 sannivesa

1 *Āyārāmgaśūtra*, ed. H. Jacobi, PTS London 1882, I, 7, 6.

2 *Sūyagadāmgaśūtra*, ed. Nirṇayāśāgara, Bombay 1880, II, 2, 13.

3 *Kalpasūtra*, ed. W. Schubring, Indica, Heft 2, Leipzig 1905, I, 6.

4 The *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, ed. H. Jacobi, AKM VII (1879) 89.

Aup. I.<sup>5</sup>

1 gāma	1 gāma
2 āgara	2 agara
3 nagara	3 nagara
4 khēda	4 nigama
5 kabbaḍa	5 rāyahāṇī
6 doṇamuha	6 kheda
7 maḍamba	7 kabbaḍa
8 paṭṭapa	8 doṇamuha
9 āsama	9 maḍamba
10 nigama	10 paṭṭapa
11 saṃvāha	11 āgara
12 sannivesa	12 sanmavāha
	13 sannivesa

Aup. II<sup>6</sup>Utt.<sup>7</sup>

1 gāma	12 saṃbāha
2 nagara	13 āsama
3 rāyahāṇī	14 vihāra
4 nīgama	15 sannivesa
5 āgara	16 samāya
6 pallī	17 ghosa
7 khēda	18 thala
8 kabbaḍa	19 senākhamdāra
9 doṇamuha	20 sattha
10 paṭṭana	21 saṃvatṭakotṭa
11 maḍamba	

1. gāma. The *Dīpikā* on *Sūtrakṛt*. explains gāma with vṛtyāvṛtaḥ; the *Utt.-Comm.* has: bhi-kṣārthaṁ sādhur bhramati grāme gunān grasatiti grāmas tasmin grāme athavā grasati sahate aṣṭādaśavidhaṁ karam iti grāmas tasmin athavā kaṇṭaka-vāṭakāvṛto janānām nivāso grāmāḥ. (भिक्षार्थ सादुर्भ्रमति

5 *Aupapātika Sūtra* ed. E. Leumann, AKM VIII (1883), § 53.

6 ibid. § 69.

7 *Uttarādhayayanasūtra*, ed. Calcutta, saṃvat 1936 = 1879 A.D.,

XXX, 16 ff.

प्रामे गुणान् व्रस्तीति ग्रामलिन् ग्रामेऽत्रवा प्रसन्नि यद्वतेऽप्यादशविष्यं करमिति  
ग्रामलसिनवका कण्टकवाटकावृतो जनानां निवासो आमः ). From  
these three explanations only the third is right,  
the first two seem to be vague etymologies.<sup>1</sup>

The grāma is known to the Veda,<sup>2</sup> but its character is different from that of the Dharmasāstra and naturally also from its developed form, about which we are informed now by inquiries<sup>3</sup> belonging to a time which is too far from the period here considered. The boundaries of a village are of two kinds: prakāśa (visible) or aprakāśa (invisible), and they are natural and artificial. The Dharmas. enumrate the boundary-marks (*Mānu* VIII, 246-251; *Yājñ. II*, 151); the *Mitākṣarā* on the verse just cited speaks from the pañcalakṣaṇa simā in the *Nāradasmṛti* which is found in J. Jolly's translation *SBE XXXIII*, p. 266, 22 and which occurs according to the references by Jolly

1 Because *nagara* is explained by *na+kara* "not paying taxes", the contrary of a *nagara*, the grāma, pays eighteen kinds of taxes (*kara*). *Karam sah* (कर सह) "suffer the tax" is a quite clear, but uncommon expression; the common is *karam dū* (कर दू).

2 See *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* by A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, 2 vols., London 1912, I. p. 244-247.

3 Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, London 1911, p. 158 ff., H. Krishna-Shastri in commemorative Essays presented to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Poona 1917, p. 223 ff.; Radhakumud Mookerji, *Local Government in Ancient India*, Second Edition, Oxford 1920, p. 164 ff.; Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, Second Edition, revised and enlarged, Calcutta 1922, p. 135 ff.

in the *Vivādaratnākara* p. 214 and in *Viramitrodaya* p. 452. Further references for the village-boundaries are: *Nārada* XI, 5 f.; *Bṛhasp.* XIX, 3/5; *Kauṭ. Arthaś.* p. 46, l. 1 f. The eighteen kinds of taxes which the Comm. mentions are epigraphically proved by the inscription of the Pallava king Śivaskandhavarman, who speaks from the *atṭhārasajātiparihārehi* (अट्ठारसजातिपरिहारेहि) some of which are named in the record (*Ep. Ind.* I, p. 6, l. 34f; cf. XV, p. 251, l. 12 f.); thirteen kinds are mentioned in *Rājatar.* V, 174.

2. *nagara*. As stated above n. 1 the *Utt.* Comm. explains *nagara*=*nakara*: *nātra karāḥ santi* (नात्र कराः सन्ति) while the Comm. on *Kalpas.* II, gives: *karādigamyā grāmāḥ*<sup>4</sup> (करादिगम्या ग्रामाः). The *Dīpikā* on *Sūtrakṛt.* offers not a much better elucidation of the expression *nagara*: *urucatur-gopurodbhāsiśobhana* (उरुचतुर्गोपुरोद्भासिशोभन); all that is little in comparison with the details in the *Arthaś.* II, 36, 56. There are mentioned *vapra*, *prākāra* (p. 146, 16.); the gates of a *nagara* are named *dvāra* (p. 145, 19), whereas a fortress has *gopura* (53, 18).<sup>5</sup> The etymology of *nagara* is not

4 The *Kalpas.* II.-Comm. has in the same way: *naiteśū karo' stiti nakarāṇi* (नैतेषु करोऽस्तीति नकराणि).

5 Th. Aufrecht cites ZDMG 28 (1874), p. 111 *Bṛhaspati Rāyamukutamaṇi* on *Amarakośa* II, 2, 1: *somanamdi tvevam nagaralakṣaṇamāha*:-

(devatāyatanaīścitraiḥ prasādāpāṇaveśmabhiḥ.

nagaram darśayedvidvānrājamārgaiśca śobhanaiḥ.

ityarthāśāstram (सोमनन्दी त्वेवं नगरलक्षणमाह-

देवतायतनैश्चित्रैः प्रासादापाणवेशमभिः ।

नगरं दर्शयेद्विद्वान् राजमार्गैश्च शोभनैः ॥)

इत्यर्थशास्त्रम्).

clear, the supposed one is *āgara* with Indo-European\*en.<sup>6</sup> In *Aup.* II. *gāmāgara* has an analogy in *pattanāgara*; *āgara* to take here, as Leumann does, as Skt. *ākara* is doubtful; *āgara* occurs in the *Atharvaveda* IV, 36, 3 perhaps as "domicile", but in *Aup.* it could be the second part of a compound (cf. also § 70-72). The correct reading offers evidently *Aup.* I; here *āgara* corresponds to a Skt. *ākara* (mine), while the second *āgara* in *Aup.* II must be read as *āsama sa Sūtrakṛti*, *Kalp.* II. do it.

3. *kheda*. *Utt.-Comm.* understands under a *kheda* Skt. (*khetā*): *dhūliprākāraparikṣiptam*, (धूलिप्राकारपरिक्षितम्) as the *Kalpas*. *II-Comm.*: *dhūli-prākāropetam*. (धूलिप्राकारोपेतम्). *dhūlikuṭṭima* is a floor of earth; *prākāra* in its proper sense is a wall a *khetā* therefore would be surrounded with an, earthen wall.<sup>7</sup> The *Dīpikā* on *Sūtrakṛti* explains the word as follows: *nadyadriveṣṭam parivṛtta-mabhitah* (नद्यद्रिवेष्टं परिवृत्तमभितः). *Pāṇini VI*, 2, 126 states that *khetā* expresses a blame, a detraction, and the Scholiast gives *nagarakhetā* "a poor town";<sup>8</sup> *Hemac.* *Dhātup.* I, 178 has *grāmodhama*, cf. *X*, 294 and *Anekārthas*, II, 85. The P. W. cites from Wilsons' Dictionary the meaning "armed". In Lüders' *List of Brāhma Inscriptions* the word does

<sup>6</sup> C. C. Uhlenbeck, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache*, Amsterdam 1898-1899, s. v. p. 141.

<sup>7</sup> More literally it would be "a wall of dust"; cf. *Arīhas*, 46, n. 1 *pāms'uprākāranibaddha* (पांशुप्राकारनिवद्ध).

<sup>8</sup> Also *Halāy. Abhidh.* II, 182 gives the rule; *Hemac.* *Abhidh.* 972: *khotah purārdhavistarāḥ* (खोटः पुरार्धविस्तारः).

not occur and the passages cited in P. W. are of relatively recent date.<sup>9</sup>

4. *kavvada*. The Comm. on *Utt.* and *Kalpas*. II. explain the word *kavvada* with: *kunagara*; the *Dipikā* on *Sūtralakṣ*. gives "surrounded by a hill." The Skt. equivalent sounds *karbata*;<sup>10</sup> *Yājñ.* II, 167 shows the form *kharvaṭa*, explained by the *Mitākṣarā* as a village, from whose boundary to that of the next village is an un-tilled ground, full of thorn-hedges, with a distance from each other of 200 dhanus. The authorities, named s. v. *kharvaṭa* in P. W. give the explanation *catuhśatagrāma-madhyasthala* (चतुःशतग्राममध्यस्थल) and in the *Arthas*. in a similar way *kharvaṭika* appears as the centre of 200 villages. *Vācaspati* in the Scholia to *Hemac. Abhidh.* 972 shows different words and meanings:

Tadardhe<sup>11</sup> tu kāvatikā syāttadardhami tu kāvatām (तदर्द्धे तु कावटिका स्यात्तदर्द्धे तु कावटम्). Karvaṭa would be therefore the central place of 400 villages; kāvatikā of 200 and kāvatā of 100 villages. *Hemac. Dhātup.* I, 355 gives *kṣudrapattanam*; in *Divyāvad.* 87, 13; 498, 17 the word runs as *karpaṭaka*.<sup>12</sup>

9 The meaning "phlegm" is attributed to *khetā* in *Avadānaśataka* (*Bibl. Buddhica*) III. I, 279, 7; II, 113, 1 (cf. the Index II, p. 226).

10 R. Pischel, *Prakrit-Grammatik*, § 287.

11 So may be the reading, instead of *karvatārdha* (कवटार्द्धे).

12 The clerk of the MS. of the *Tantrūkhyaśikā* (ed. Joh. Hertel, p. 6, 13) gives this gloss: *khetāḥ kārsikāgrāmāḥ* (खेतः कार्सिकाग्रामः) and cites two ślokas:  
vindrāśca vīprabhṛtyāśca yatra caiva vasanti te,  
sa grāma iti vai proktāś śūdrāṇūm vāsa eva ca.

5. madamba. Of this word a Skt. equivalent does not exist; in the "Utt.-Comm." the meaning is stated as: *yasya saivadikṣu sārdhiatṛtiyayojanāntargrāmo na syāt*, (यस सर्वेदिक्षु सार्धतृतीयोजनान्तर्यामो न स्यात्) whereas the Comm. on *Kalpas.* II. gives, *sārvatordhayojanāt parato' vasthitagrāmāṇī*. (सर्वतोऽसर्वात्परोऽवस्थितप्रामाणि). The Scholion to *Anuyogad-vārasūtra* (*Ind. Stud.* XVII, p. 26, n. 1) explains: *yasya pārśvata āsannam aparam grāmanagarādīmadambam ucyate*. (यस पार्श्वत आसनगमपरं ग्रामनगरादिं नास्ति चत्सर्वतश्चनाश्रयविशेषरूपं मण्डपसुच्यते). The insertion of the word among the settlements permits no doubt, that madambam is a sort of village or town. Similar to the first explanation of *Utt.-Comm.* in a note to the *Arthas.* (p. 46) we find from the *Rājaprasn.-Comm.*: *ardhagavyūtatṛtiyantarhitam manṭapam*<sup>13</sup> (अर्धगव्यूततृतीयान्तर्हितं मण्डपम्). Manṭapa is not found in the Dictionaries, and the word mandapa means "porch," "hall." The *Prāśnavyākaraṇasūtra* has: *mandapāni dūrasthalasimāntarāṇi* (मण्डपानि दूरस्थलसीमान्तराणि). Nevertheless we must accept the meaning of "village" or "town" in a peculiar sense for madamba. The proof is an inscription, no. 1200 in Lüders' *List*, which has been used already for interpretation by E. Leumann, *Ep. Ind.* II,

(विप्राश्च विप्रभूत्याश्च यत्र चैव वसन्ति ते।

स आम इति वै प्रोक्तः शद्भाणं वास एव च ॥ )

ekato yatra tu grāmo nagaram caikatāssthitam,  
misraītu kharvatam nāma nadigirisamāśrayam।

(एकतो यत्र तु आमो नगरं चैकतः स्थितम् ।

मिश्रं तु खर्वतं नाम नदीगिरिसमाश्रयम् ॥ )

13. The gavyuta is Hemac. *Abhidh.* 887 a krośa. 4.  
"part of a yojanā"

(1894), p. 484, of G. Bühler, *ibid.* p. 485. The translation of madamba is uncertain; it seems to designate the central place of a district of a certain size.<sup>14</sup>

6. *pattana*. Here the *Utt.-Comm.* finds again an occasion to etymologise: *yatra sarvadig-bhyo janāḥ patanti āgacchānti iti pattanam athavā pattanam ratnakhanir iti lakṣaṇam tadapi dvividham jalamaṇḍhyavartti sthalamaṇḍhyavartti ca* ( यत्र सर्वदिरम्यो जनाः पतन्त्यगच्छन्तीति पत्तनमथवा पत्तनं रत्नखनिरिति लक्षणं तदपि द्विविधं जलमध्यवर्त्ति स्थलमध्यवर्त्ति च ). The first explanation, which is found in a shortened form in the *Rāmāśramī* on *Amarak.* II, 2, 1, can be overlooked; the second is similar to that of the *Dīpikā* on *Sūtrakṛt*.: *pattanam ratnayonim* ( पत्तनं रत्नयोनिम् ). Ratnayoni again is a definition, which becomes probable as the epithet of a sea-trade-town as well of a place for pearl-fishers. This suggestion is supported by the *Arthaś* 126, 6, 10, 13, 15; but in the *sloka*, cited on p. 46, 4 a distinction seems to be constructed between *pattana* and *paṭṭana*:

Pattanam śakaṭairgamyam,  
ghāṭikairnaubhireva ca.  
naubhireva tu yadgamyam,  
paṭṭanam tatpracaksate.  
( पत्तनं शकैर्गम्यं घाटिकैर्नौभिरेव च ।  
नौभिरेव तु यद्गम्यं पट्टनं तत् प्रचक्षते ॥ )

14 The *Sūtrakṛt.-Dīpikā* offers: grāmairyuktam maṭambam dalitadaśataih ( ग्रामैर्युक्तं मटम्बं दलितदशशतैः ) "a maṭamba is supplied with thousand dispersed villages".—The date of the inscription of the Pallava king Śivaskandhavarman is unknown; it belongs (*Ep. Ind.* VI, p. 89) to a time prior to the eighth cent. A. D.

"A place which can be entered by carriages, ghāṭikas<sup>15</sup> or ships, as a pattana, but as a pattana<sup>16</sup> is declared a place, which can be entered only by ships." In accordance with that the Kalpas.-Comm. says: pattanāni yeṣu jalasthalapathayoranyatarena paryāhārapravesah (पत्तनानि येषु जलस्थलपथयोरन्यतरेण पर्याहारप्रवेशः). Perhaps a peculiar sense may be attributed to the words: pattane sati grāme ratnaparikṣā? (पत्तने सति ग्रामे रत्नपरीक्षा?) in Māla-vikāgnim. (ed. F. Bollensen, p. 15, 4f., first act) in respect to pattana as pearl-fisher-station and harbour. Pattana is a word occurring in texts relatively not of very high age.

7. dropamukha. The term dropamukha is explained differently by the Comm. on Jain-works

15 Ghatikā seems to be a kind of boat; of ghaṭikāsthāna in Arthas. 110, 6 and the Comm. I. J. Sorabji's Notes on the Adhyaksha-Pracāra, Diss. Würzburg, Allhabad 1914, p. 51. According to J. F. Fleet, JRAS 1915, p. 213, n. 1, ghaṭikā, ghaṭī and ghaṭiyā-ntra are names for the water-clock. of. SWA 192, 5 p. 240, n. 1. Supattana occurs in Dhammap. Comm. IV, 108.

16 A rather superficial explanation is that of Vācas-pati in the Scholion to Hemac. Abhidh. 972, when he says; that pattana, patṭana and puṭabhedana are the central places of 50 villages. Hemac. Dhātup. I, 962 has only: puraviśeṣah. That pattana has in general the sense of "town" and not by itself the meaning "trade-place", shows the Arthas. 300, 8; 311, 17, where in both passages stands pañyapattana, or pañyapatṭana, which would be out of place. On the other hand here exists no difference between pattana and patṭana, whereas the Vaijayanī p. 159, 1, 6f. mentions the two terms.

and, on the other hand, by the lexicographical literature as well by the *Arthaśāstra*.

The *Sūtrakṛt-Comm.* says : dronākhyam sindhuvelāvalayitam (द्रोणाख्यं सिन्धुवेलावलयितम्) and quite similarly the *Tikā* on *Utt.* says : droṇamukham jalasthalanirgamanapravesam tat Bhṛgukacchādikam (द्रोणमुखं जलस्थलनिर्गमनप्रवेशं तत् भृगुकच्छादिकम्). A similar explanation is found in the *Kalpas*. *Comm* : droṇamukhāni yatra jalasthalapathāvubhāvapi stah (द्रोणमुखानि यत्र जलस्थलपथावुभावपि स्तः). Bhṛgukaccha is the well known harbour on the western coast, the name of which is given also in the form Bharukaccha, Bhṛgupura, Bhṛgukṣetra.<sup>17</sup> The *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* and *Ptolemaios* in his *Geography* VII, 1,62 speak about this place. The flowering of this harbour, though old as indicated by Pāli literature (cf. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 31) belongs to the first centuries A. D. The *Comm*, on *Rājapraśn.* explains : droṇamukham jalanirgamapravesam paṭṭanam (द्रोणमुखं जलनिर्गमप्रवेशं पट्टनं) whereas the *Praśnavyākaraṇasūtravyākhyāna* (both cited in the *Kaut.* *Arthaś.* p. 46, n. l.) only gives : droṇamukhāni jalasthalapathopetāni (द्रोणमुखानि जलस्थलपथोपेतानि). There probably is but little difference between a droṇamukha and a pattana or paṭṭana, the difference consisting in one being approachable by waterways, the other by landways. The Dictionaries cited in P. W. declare droṇamukha as the central place of 400 villages; these sources are of later times (*Trikāndasēṣa*,

<sup>17</sup> The modern Bharoch, Broach, the Gulf of Kambhat.—About the origin of the name see *Ind. Ant.* XIII (1884), p. 359.

*Hārāvalī, S'abdakalpadruma*); in the Scholion on *Hemac.* *Abhidh.* 972 *Vācaspati* in the same way declares a *dronamukha* as the centre of 400 villages. From other works the Comm. on the *Mankhakosa* 651<sup>18</sup> a passage from the *Kauṭilya Arthasāstra* p. 147, 11f., as the learned editor Th. Zachariae (Vienna 1898, p. 91, 28) already suggested. With the above-mentioned explanation the *Arthas.* Dictionaries and *Arthasāstra*, *dronamukha* passes for a harbour; in *Divyāvad.* 620, 13f. the Brahman *Puṣkarasārin* receives a *dronamukha* as brahmadeya.

8. *ākara*. Except the *Sūtrakṛt*. the term *āvara*, Skt. *ākara*, occurs in all the texts. The *Utt.* -Comm. offers this explanation: *svarnādyut-pattisthānam* (सर्वाद्युत्पत्तिस्थानम्), similarly the *Kalpas*. -Comm.: *lohādyutpattibhūmayah* (लोहाद्युत्पत्तिभूमयः). But it would be hardly correct to accept this as a full explanation, because *ākara* in the connexion with settlements must be of the same kind, that is, a place, where or 'in the neighbourhood of which an *ākarkarmānta* (आकरकर्मान्त) is in action. *Ākarakarmānta* is the term of the *Arthas*. II, 12, 31 the description of which gives a vivid illustration of the whole staff of officials and workmen of such a mine.<sup>19</sup>

18 With the undoubtedly wrong reading 'trayo mānya (त्रयो मान्या) instead of *trayo' mātyā* (त्रयोऽमात्या).

19 *Ākara* is also the name of a town, perhaps today *Āgar*, cf. *Ind. Ant.* XLVII (1918), p. 151 and *ibid.* II. (1920), Supplement p. 3 s. v. *Ākaravanti*.

9. *āśrama*. A thorough investigation of the foregoing terms we must conclude, that the last, *ākara*, does not mean the same as the others; because while the former are towns, villages in the proper sense, *ākara* evidently means an undertaking, where the people have to dwell in consequence of their special occupation; the occupation creates the settlement. The same character must be attributed to each of the following terms; these are not places in the topographical sense, they are places for certain purposes, settlements in fact.

*āśama*, Skt., *āśrama*, needs no further explanation. *Tāpasasthānam* says the *Sūtrakṛt.-Dīpikā*, *tāpasāśramopalakṣite sthāne* (तापसाश्रमोपलक्षिते स्थाने). The *Utt.-Tīkā*, and the *Kalpas*:-Comm. has: *tīrtha-*  
*sthānāni munisthānāni vā* (तीर्थस्थानानि मुनिस्थानानि चा).

10. *sannivesa*. *saṃnivesa* is explained by the *Sūtrakṛt.-Dīpikā* as: *sārthakatākādīvāśah* (सार्थ-  
कदीवाशः), by the *Tīkā* on *Utt.* with: *yātrādyarth-  
asamāgatajanāvāse* (यात्राद्यर्थसमागतजनावासे), the *Kalpas*. -Comm. has: *sannivesāḥ sārthaśakaṭādeḥ* (सन्निवेशाः  
सार्थशक्तादेः) A. F. R. Hoernle cites (in his transl.  
of the *Uvāsagadasāo* p. 8, n. 15) a Sanskrit-Comm.,  
according to which *sannivesa* is *ghoṣaprabhṛtiḥ*.  
The Gujarati paraph. (to Ov. [= *Aupapātikas.*] §§53, 69, 70) describes it as a place where  
shepherds (*bharuvāḍī*), and cowherds (*gosī*, *gawālī*,  
*gokali*) live, and travellers (*rawārī*) put up. That  
seems to be a good explanation.

11. *nigama*. The Prākrit form of *nigama*  
is quite the same as in Pāli and Sanskrit; but  
there exist derivations in Pāli, scil. *negama* Skt,



II, p. 17, 16) occurs: nigame naigamānām (निगमे नैगमानाम्); the *Padacandrikā* explains: nigamo yañiggrāmaḥ. nigamah sure vede vanīkpathē mārga iti. Mahīpaḥ; naigamānām vanijām. (निगमो वणिक्रामः। निगमः सुरे वेदे वणिकपथे मार्गं इति महीपः। नैगमानां वणिजां). *Hemac.* *Dhātup.* I, 396 explains nigama with pūṭabhedanam sāstram vā, (पुटभेदनं शास्त्रं वा) and in the *Dhammapada* -Comm. I, 133 Anupiya is a nigama in the *Malla* country. Nigama has to be interpreted as "town", better perhaps "trader's place", in an inscription, where a gift of the nigama of Karahakāṭa<sup>20</sup> is mentioned (*Lüders' List* No 705).

Two recent books, both dealing with valuable treatises of their kind the same matter, interpret the term nigama on the seals found at Basārh in different

20 Cf. E. Hultzsch *ZDMG* XL (1886), p. 62, n. 2; *Ind. Ant.* XXI (1892), p. 228, n. 20.—I cannot but express my doubt, whether nigama in both cases has not the meaning "body of traders". First it is clear that inhabitants of Karahakāṭa are the donors, secondly it is a custom to announce the occupation of the donor; therefore I prefer to translate: "A donum by the traders-body of Karahakāṭa". In No. 1335 nigamaputa is quite analogous to rājaputra, vanīkputra etc.; putra in compounds has a collective meaning, nigamaputa therefore are "traders-body-sons", i.e. "the traders-body". Cf. also goṭhi which is a committee of the body of traders and hardly that of the place. For the word cf. *JAS.* X, t. IV (1904), p. 230; *Avadānaśataka* I, 93, 6; 377, 14; II, 53, 9 f.; 55, 9 and n. 8; 100, 13. G. Bühler remarks (*Ep. Ind.* II, p. 92) that pious donations made by villages or towns do not occur frequently in the inscriptions. for the last interpretation see H. Lüders *SPA*, 1912, p. 822 f.

way. While Radhak. Mookerji<sup>21</sup> sees here an important proof for the existence of guilds, R. Ch. Majumdar<sup>22</sup> agrees with Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in declaring here *nigama* as town. Before deciding this question attention may be paid to the term *naigama*.

There is no doubt that *naigama* means a trader. So is found in inscriptions *negama*—also *nekama*—representing Skt. *naigama* in Lüders' *List* No 1337, where 20 names are enumerated, hardly inhabitants of a hamlet. *Naigama* is a *vṛddhi*-formation from *nigama*. Now, if *naigama* means a trader, *nigama* as the primary word must designate collective, that is the body of traders. Thereby we shall not forget that the local unity may have created the meaning "body". In No 1335 of Lüders' *List* we find *nigamaputa*; here an interpretation like "sons of the town" seems to be quite impossible, whereas the translation members of the *nigama* ("traders' body") seems preferable. Assuming therewith the meaning "traders' body" for *nigama* one must take the above mentioned seal-inscriptions as a further proof; I cannot understand the interpretation of *śresthi-sārthavāha-kulika-nigama* as "town of the *śresthis*" etc., but rather as the "body of the *śresthis*" etc. But D. R. Bhandarkar and R. Ch. Majumdar are right inasmuch as they deny the meaning "guild" of the word *nigama*; that comes just so true as the modern board of trade would be a guild. But *naigama* again is not only the

21 *Local Government*, p. 112f.

22 *Corporate Life*, p. 43ff.

trader, but also the inhabitant of a nigama. In the *Nāradasmṛti* X. 1 naigama is explained by the Comm. with paurāḥ, while the *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñ.* II, 192 understands "sects as the Pāśupatas" and J. Jolly again gives at *S. B. E.* XXXIII, p. 153 "followers of the Veda."

Summarizing one could say:

nigama: a) traders' place; b) traders' body  
naigama: a) inhabitant b) trader (member  
of a nigama. of the nigama).

12. rāyahāṇi. The last term in *Sūtrakṛt*. is rāyahāṇi, which is explained by the *Dīpikā* with: rājakulasthānam; a more complete explanation is given in *Utt.-Comm.*: rājadhānyāṁ rājādhīyate yasyāṁ sā rājadhāṇī, tasyāṁ rājadhānyāṁ rājapīṭhasthāne (राजधान्यं राजाधीयते यस्यां सा राजधानी, तस्यां राजधान्यं राजपीठस्थाने). The word is occurring in works which are of a relatively late date (so Ayodhyā is often mentioned as rājadhāṇī *Rāmāy.* II, 52, 55; II, 28, 24; *Rājatar.*, *Kathāsarits.* etc.) and means the residence of a king. In the *Moharājapārājaya* by Yaśahpāla 13. cent. occurs Caulukyārājadhāṇī.<sup>23</sup>

13. *samvāha*. The word is found in *Kalpas*. I. and II., twice in *Utt.* and in *Aup.* The Comm. on *Kalpas*. I. explains: samabhūmau kr̥ṣīm kṛtvā yeṣu durgabhūmiṣu dhānyāni kr̥ṣīvalāḥ samvahanti rakṣārtham (ससभूमौ कृषि कृत्वा येषु दुर्गभूमिषु धान्यानि कृषीवलाः संवहन्ति रक्षार्थम्) the fortified places,

23 E. Hultsch, *Gottinger Gelehrte Nachrichten* 1921, p. 40, n. 2. For the occurrence of this word in the Buddhist literature see below p. 15 and n. 41.

where "the country-people after having reaped their crops in the open country bring the grain for safety." There is not much difference in the explanation of the *Aup.-Comm.*, when he says: parvatanitambādīdurgasthāpanī (पर्वतनितम्बादीदुर्गस्थापनी) "a depository place in a fortified place behind a slope of a hill" etc. The Tīkā on *Utt.* does not agree with these former explanations but says as follows: sambādhah prabhūtacaturvarṇyanivāśah (सम्बाधः प्रभूतचतुर्वर्णयनिवाशः). When deciding between the different opinions it must be considered that the texts of *Kalpas*, II, and *Aup.* offer also sambāha like *Utt.*; samvāha represents a Skt. samvāha and sambāha a Skt. sambādha; therefore we understand the explanation for the first "bringing together" and that of the *Utt.-Tīkā* "crowding together." That the meaning here can be only that of a place is evident; in none of the Dictionaries the word samvāha in such a sense is found. In the *Arthaś.* X, 2, 150, 152, p. 367, 3,<sup>4</sup> occurs the word, as it seems, in the above mentioned sense: sārthavrajaskandhāvārasamvāhavilopapramattam: apramatto bhihanyāt (नार्थव्रजस्कंधावारसम्वाहविलोपप्रमात्रमप्रमत्तोऽभिहन्यात्). "He (the king or the general-in-chief) shall diligently attack the enemy while he (the enemy) is devoting himself in carelessness

<sup>24</sup> Perhaps durga here is simply a locality of difficult approach, situated behind a slope. Parvata durga is one of the six kinds, enumerated in *Manu* VII, 70 (*Mhb.* XII, 86, 5; *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñ.* I, 321; *Vīraṇ.* III, 6); *Arthaś.* 51, 2-5. sthāpinyah is explained also by the *Parasnayākaraṇasutratyākhyāna*, see *Kauṭ.* *Arthaś.* p. 46, n. 1.

to robbery of caravans, a hurdle, an encampment and of a *samvāha*." No doubt that *samvāha* means here a sort of a place in some way fortified.<sup>25</sup>

14. *ghoṣa*. A term which causes no difficulty is *ghoṣa*, "a herdsmen-station"; it is sufficient to remember the goharaṇaparvan of *Mhbh.* III. Here, at III, 35, 7 is mentioned a *gopādhyakṣa* who hastens into the town (*nagarāya*); at *Rām.* II. 83, 15 occur *grāmaghoṣamahattarāḥ* (ग्रामघोषमहत्तराः). Also the Purānic sources and Bhāsa's *Bälacarita* give a full illustration of *ghoṣa*-life. The *Utt.-Tikā* may still be cited: *Abhīrapallīsamāja* (आभीरपलीसमाज), expressions which must be considered below.<sup>26</sup>

15. *pallī*. It is no doubt that the enumeration descends from the bigger and general settlements to the smaller and specific ones. The foregoing explanation of *ghoṣa* says that a number of *pallis* forms the *ghoṣa*; *pallī* again is explained by the same source as follows; *vṛkṣavamśādigahanāśritaprāntajanasthānam* (वृक्षवंशादिगहनाश्रितप्रान्तजनस्थानम्):

25 The parallel passage of the *Kāmand. Nitīs.* XIX, 62 has:

*skandhāvārapuragrāmasasyasārthavrajādiṣु*;  
(स्कन्धावारपुरग्रामसस्यार्थव्रजादिषु)

That *sasya* here is inserted instead of *samvāha* is probable; may be that *Kāmandaki* did not understand the expression or that he did so metri causa.

26 *Grāma*, *ghoṣa* and *nagara* occur in *Vāyupur.* (ed: *Bibl. Ind.*) vol. II, adhy. 33, 10 and *pura*, *ghoṣa*, *grāma*, *pattana* *ibid.* 32, 40. In vol. I, adhy. 8, 96 are mentioned *khetā*, *pura*, *grāma* and *khetā*, *nagara*, *grāma* in 8, 106. For the question of the *Ābhīras* cf. N. G. Majumdar, *Jad.* 1911 VI-VII (1912) 25-26.

Palli is therefore a place in a pasture-land, in the huts of which people of the ghoṣa are living or a place in the forest on the boundaries of a realm with an independent people, nearly related to the āṭavikas of the *Arthas*. Philostratos in his *Biography of Apollonios of Tyana* speaks in a similar way of such clans II, 26; and V. A. Smith names these highlanders "the ancestors or predecessors of the modern Afridis and similar clans."<sup>27</sup> A good impression the reader receives by the 10. taraṅga of *Kathāsaritsāgara*, where also a pallipati (v. 137), called Śavarādhipa (v. 133), is mentioned. Yaugandharāyaṇa's friend, Pulinda (XII, 45), is living in a pallī (XIII, 42).

16. amṣiyā. No term is so little known as amṣiyā of *Kalpas*. I. It is possible that Pkt. amṣiyā as maintained by W. Schubring<sup>28</sup> represents a Skt. amśikā, but its translation "hamlet" (Weiler) seems doubtful. The literal meaning would be, "amśikā-adopting", having a share, a part; uncertain. The real meaning may be comprehended as soon as the word would be found in another work. For another suggestion we have to consider the next term.

17. putabhedana. This word does occur as well in *Kalpas*. I., in *Utt.* XX, 18 as it is mentioned often in Buddhist literature and in the Dictionaries. J. Charpentier has<sup>29</sup> fully discussed this term; his suggestion is that the original meaning must be "breaking through (a bank, a sandbank);

27 ZDMG LXVIII (1914), p. 337.

28 *Kalpas*. I., p. 48.

29 ZDMG LXX (1916), p. 237-242.

then the place where it happens". The latter meaning "town" cannot be attributed to the word here, because a specified designation is needed. But, if it is permitted to make another suggestion, it is done only with all reservation.<sup>30</sup>

It seems to be hardly a hazard, when in *Kalpas.* I. the text runs: *amsiyamṣi vā puḍabheyanamṣi vā* (अंसियंसि वा पुडभेयणंसि वा) and when the *Arthaś.* 51, 10 reads: *panyapuṭabhedanamamṣavāripathābhyaṁupetam* [sthāniyam niveśayet]<sup>31</sup> (पण्यपुटभेदनमंसवारिपथा-

30 For *puṭabhedana* in *Hemac.* *Dhātuṇp.* I, 396 cf. above p. 8; *Nīlakaṇṭha* gives *Mhbh.* II, 32, 14 *pattana* for the term.

31 In *Vaijayantī* (p. 159, 1) *puṭa* as a synonym of *nagara* occurs. *Puṭam* (v. l. *panyapuṭam*) *bhitvā* is found in the *Arthaś.* 111, 6 f.; for interpretation see *SWA* (191, 5, p. 145). *Bhānu dīkṣita* on *Amarak.* II, 2, 1 explains: *puṭāni pātrāṇi bhidyante'tra* (पुटानि पात्राणि भिद्यन्ते त्र) and a similar explanation *Dharma-pāla* (?) has in his Comm. on *Udānam* VIII, 6 (ed. p. Steindhal p. 88, n. 6): *puṭabhedanātthānanti bhandapuṭabhedanātthānām bhandakānam mocanātthānan ti vuttam hoti* (पुटभेदनद्वाणं ति भंडपुटभेदनद्वाणं भंडकाणं मोचनद्वाणं ति तुच्च होति ।). These two passages seem to speak for the interpretation that the bags etc. have to be opened for inspection. The baggage has been carried on the shoulder, i. e. *puṭāmsa*; cf. *Dīgha-Nik.* IV, 7 (*Sonadṛḍha Sutta*); V, 8 (*Kūṭadanta-Sutta*); *Majjh.-Nik.* III, 80 (with the reading, accepted in the text, *puṭosenāpi*); the new Pali Text Society-Dictionary p. 1 s. v. *amsa* gives "with a knap-sack for provisions" and refers to the Comm. on *Dīgha-Nik.* I, 268. Should there exist some connexion between *putāmsa* and *puṭabhedana*? *Amsikās* seem to be the settlement on an *amsapathe*, on the end of which, in the *puṭabhedana*, the baggage has to be opened. In this way *puṭabhedana* become a town as trade-place (cf. *SBH* XI, p. XVI, n. 1; R. O. Franke, *Dīgha-Nik.* transl. p. 190 f., n. 3).

भासुपेन्द्र [स्थानीयम् निवेशनेत्]). Aṁsapatha occurs again in the *Arthas.* 300, 19. Shāmasāstry's interpretation as "trade-routes traversed by men alone" (aṁsapatha, shoulder-path, i. e. a path traversed by men carrying merchandisc on their shoulders), is not unlikely. Then panyapuṭabhedanam aṁsavāripathābhyaṁ (पश्चपुटनेत्रनमेष्वालयाम्बान्) would be a sthāniya as a puṭabhedana with mule-tracks and water ways; puṭabhedana would be originally a place, where the loads have to be opened, not only for toll, but also for inspection. Aṁsiyā would represent a Skt. amśikā, a widened place to allow of the passage of people going in opposite direction, situated on an aṁsapatha—a place, in mountains perhaps, for the travellers, consisting only of a collection of few houses.

The remaining terms are found only in *Utt.*

18. vihāra. This word is explained by the Tikā as devagṛhāḥ, a remarkable explanation by a Comm. on a Jain-work.

19. samāja. The Prākrit form is samāya<sup>22</sup>; in Pāli samājo, samajjā. Samājiko is translated in Childer's Pali-Dictionary as "assembly", or "member of an assembly". The Comm. gives pariṣat which agrees with this meaning. In his article<sup>23</sup>; F. W. Thomas expounds from Aśoka's first Rock-edict the meaning "celebration of games, or rather contests". But here, in the enumeration, it must mean a place, not an occasional festival. If, however, Thomas in agreement with E.

Hardy, Album Kern p. 61-66, has shown<sup>33</sup>, that a samāja takes place "in an arena (śamājavatā); or amphitheatre, surrounded by platforms (mañca) for spectators" (p. 393) and is frequently regarded as taking place on the top of a hill (giragga) (p. 394). According to Buddhist sources (cf. also *ibid.* p. 752), samāya seems to designate such a locality for amusements. N. G. Majumdar<sup>34</sup> pointed out that "samāja was primarily a technical word for theatre<sup>35</sup>." Be that as it may: in the enumeration in *Utt. samāya* = Skt. samāja is a place where some festivals are celebrated. And it is, in accordance with the remarks made by Thomas, probable that

20. sthala belongs to samāya; it is explained by the Tīkā as: uccabhūmibhāga (उच्चभूमिभाग). The compound word would therefore mean the high place where samājas are celebrated.<sup>36</sup>

21. senāskandhāvāra. This term is quite clear; the Tīkā says: seṇācaturaṅgakaṭaksamūhah skandhāvārah kaṭakottarananivāsaḥ (सेनाचतुरङ्गकटक-

33. For Childers quotations see E. Hardy Album Kern, Leiden 1913, p. 62, n. 5.

34. *Ind. Ant.* XLVII (1918), p. 221, 223; V. A. Smith, *ibid.* XLVIII (1919), p. 235; cf. also *Dhammap.-Comm.* IV, 59.

35. For the care of Governments for theatres see as the reverse the *Arthaś.* 48, 12-14.

36. sthala is the complement to nimna (*Arthaś.* 140, 5) or the opposite to jala, [cf. *Aup.* § 118: jalayarā (jalacarā), thalayarā (sthalacarā), khahayarā (khacarā), the continent]; H. Jacobi takes it with the following word "camp on high ground" (*SBE* XLV, p. 177).

संदृः संवारः अस्त्रेदिवाः) the headquarters of an army."<sup>37</sup>

22. sārtha. The Tīkā explains: sārthakra-  
yānakabhr̥tām samūhapratīta eva (सार्थक्रयानकभृताम् समुहप्रतीता एव), a "caravan-place".

23. sāmvartakoṭṭa. The last word in *Utt.* is a compound, and the Comm. gives this explanation: sambartto bhayatrasastajanasamavāyāḥ, kottō durgāḥ (सम्बर्तो भयत्रासस्तजनसमवायाः, कोट्टो दुर्गाः). The same explanation of koṭṭa<sup>38</sup> is given in *Hemac. Abhidh.* 973 and that of sāmvarta is found in Nilakanṭha's Comm. on *Mbh.* IX, 57, 19: sāmvartām ṣaṭrūprā-  
saraṇāvareddhanam (साम्वर्ताम् ṣaṭrūप्रासराणावरेद्धनम्). Sāmvarta-  
koṭṭa must be therefore a citadel or fort pro-  
hibiting the advance of an enemy. According to  
the Tīkā it would mean a fort where the frightened  
people are gathered.

The question which now arises is that:  
of which value is such an enumeration? Jacobi  
says<sup>39</sup> that the "gamas form a rather questionable  
ornament of the Sūtra style." The suggestion  
that any author could have written such a list  
of settlements by himself is impossible. Firstly we

37. Kottakottasāpanivāśāḥ (कोट्टकोट्टसापनिवाशः) seems to be  
a remark.—For the camp cf. *SNA* 191, 5 p. 100 ff.

38. Koṭṭa as "fort" is also today known. Cf. the word  
koṭṭ in the Darel-district, *Ind. Ant.* XLVI (1917),  
p. 114. For the names *ibid.* p. 43, 45 f., 276. It is  
hardly an Aryan word, though we have in younger  
texts kottapāla, kottarāja, cf. *Dityāv.* 61, 16; 267, 23;  
*Aśadānī. I*, 108, 7; *Mahātyup.* 186, 8, 35; see *KZ*  
44 (1911), p. 169.

39. *SBE XXXII*, p. 72, n. 2.

find the list in six texts<sup>40</sup> seven times with some alterations; then these alterations again show that there existed a list, and this list again could not be the work of a pious writer, but that of a pedant or of a scholar. Of which kind in reality the source was is not possible to decide. What we see is a certain affinity existing between *Ācār.* and *Sūtrakṛt;* *Kalpas.* I. II; and *Aup.* I., II. The prolongation of the list in *Utt.* is hardly an argument for its originality. One cannot conclude from such instances anything relating to the chronology. But to look for the source and to conclude something from the age of the same or of the words occurring in the list is permissible.

There exists little doubt, that the whole science of the list is taken from a non-canonical text. That in the Vedic literature no hint is found of such settlements, is not surprising. A step forward shows the interesting fact that in *Pāṇini* Grammar occur grāma and nagara, whereas his Commentator Patañjali knows already II, 4, 10 (ed. F. Kielhorn I, p. 475) and VII, 3, 14 (III, p. 321) the different sāṃstyāyas (settlements): grāma, ghoṣa, nagara and sāṃvāha, which are āryanivāsas, dwelling-places for Āryas. Khetā was, as it seems, unknown in the abovestated sense, because *Pāṇini* VI, 2, 126 knows only the use of the word, when any detraction is to be expressed.

A slight similarity, a short list, we find in the Buddhist literature, e. g. in the *Kanavera-Jātaka*

40. I had no other texts at my disposal.

(ed. Fausb<sup>ull</sup> II, III, p. 61; 22): *gāmanigamārā-*  
*jadhāniyo* (गमनिगमराजधानियो).<sup>41</sup>

From the Epic already we get to know of larger numbers of dwelling-places. Grāma and pura prove nothing; but khetā occurs here (*Mhbh.* III, 193, 10); ghosa, explained with vanasthāna, is also found (*Mhbh.* II, 69, 35). Of other expressions we meet pattana, nagara, grāma, pallighoṣa in *Mhbh.* (XII, 325, 17-20). E. W. Hopkins,<sup>42</sup> who mentioned these settlements, remarks (p. 78, n.) that the term kharvaṭa is unknown to the Epic; when we find these and other terms in sources of a date, according to the *opinio communis*, rather late, and when *Mhbh.* (XII, 325, 17-20) does not mention these settlements, where the occasion is given for such an enumeration and seldom omitted; can that be only a hazard?

In the Purāṇas the terms occur in a quite similar form as they are in the works of the Siddhānta. *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* (V, 5, 30),: tatra puragrāmākarakhetavaṭaśiviravrajaghoṣasāra-

41. The same expression occurs in the *Līgha-Nik.* IV, 7 (but the Ms. Bur has *gāmanigamajana*प-*darājāthāniyo* (गमनिगमजनपदराजठानियो), cf. simhas-*thāniya* in *Pūraṇabhadra's Pañcākhyānaka* p. 4, 23; XXVI, 23; XXVI, 22). Conforming to the passages above from the *Jātakas* in *Divyāv.* (344, 14 f.) we read: (grāmanigamarājarāṣṭradhāniṣu) आमनिगमराजराष्ट्रधा-*निषु*). Gāmaghāta, nigamaghāta, *nagaraghāta* is found in the *Dhammap.-Comm.* (IV, 108). Nigama we meet in *Jāt.* (I, 360; II, 209 and III, 79) *nigamāgamo* (II, 209) it is a gavyūta and half a *yojana* far way from the Jetavana.

42 *JAOS XIII* (1888), p. 77 ff.

thagirīvanāśrama (तत्र तत्र पुरग्रामाकरखेटवटशिविरमंजघोषसार्थं गिरिवनाश्रमं.....(VII, 2, 14): puragrāma vratjodyānak-  
setrāramāśramākarān (पुरग्रामव्रजोद्यानक्षेत्रारामाश्रमाकरान्) : khe-  
takharvataghoṣāṁśca dadahuh pattanāni ca  
(खेटखर्वटघोषांश्च ददहुः पत्तनानि च).<sup>43a</sup> In a more detailed  
form the *Mārkandeya-Purāṇa* speaks about the  
terms (XLIX, 42-54). There are found these terms :  
pura, khetaka, droṇimukha, sākhānagara, karvatāka,  
grāma, samghoṣa ; in verse 44f. the measures of  
the area of a pura, khetā and kharvatā are settled.  
In the *Agni-Purāṇa* are found (XCIII, 33) :  
nagara, grāma, khetā ; (CV, 1) : nagaragrāma-  
durgādi ; (CCXIII, 9) : grāma, pura, khetaka ;  
kharvatā occurs in (CCLVIII, 18).

The *Tantrākhyāyikā* (ed. Joh. Hertel, p. 6, 1.  
13) mentions : grāma, nagara, pattana, adhiṣṭhāna,  
khetā and kharvatā.<sup>43b</sup>

More stress can be laid upon that kind of  
literature, which can be dated with more or  
less certainty, the Dictionaries.

To begin with one of the oldest, Dhānapāla  
mentions in his *Pāiyalacchī* (belonging to the  
year 972-3 according to G. Bühler in his edition  
p. 6) gāmahaṇam, khadayam, patṭam, grāmadhā-  
nam, khetakam, patṭa (गामहणं खडयं पट्टं ग्रामधानं, खेटकं, पट्टं),  
v. 152). *Sāśvata*, also one of the older kośas,  
knows grāma (V. 464), pura (710), nigama (256),  
khetā (406), samniveśa (450), vraja (626); but

43a The P. W. informs us that the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* has  
the term in connexion again with pura, grāma, vraja,  
ākara, khetā (I, 6, 11) or with grāma, pura, pattana,  
durga, ghoṣa, vraja, ākara, khetā (IV 18, 31).

43b Cf. also Pūrṇabhadra's *Pañcākhy.* 4, 22 ff.

there is not found a term like *paṭabhedana*, *droṣmukha*, etc. *Halayudha*<sup>44</sup> who belongs to the 10. cent., mentions (II, 129-131) the following words: grāma, pattana, nigama, paṭabhedana, nagara, negari, draṅga, sthāniya, skandhāvāra, rājadhāni. The *Māñkha-loka*<sup>45</sup> of the 12. cent. is a homonymous kośa (*anekārtha*) and therefore of less abundance than a synonymous; he has grāma (577), nigama (591), khetā (169), skandhāvāra in the Comm. on 415.<sup>46</sup> So we find in Hemacandra's *Anekārthas* only grāma (II, 314), nigama (III, 459), khetā (II, 85), whereas the other terms occur in another Dictionary of Hemacandra. That is the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*; here, 971-3 we read:

nagari-pūḥ purī draṅgah pattenam paṭabhed  
nam || (971) ||  
Nīreśanāmadhiśṭhānam sthāniyam nigamo'  
pi ca;  
sākhāpuram tūpapuram khetāḥ purārdharista-  
rah || (972) ||;  
skandhāvāro rājadhāni koṭṭadurgah punah  
samāh<sup>47</sup> || (973) ||  
(कन्त्यं पूः हुये द्रङ्गः पूर्णं उपसेदन् ॥ ११७ ॥  
लिप्तवान्विटनं स्थानं लिप्तवान्विते च ।  
कन्त्यां द्रङ्गां देवः हुयवेदनः ॥ (972) ॥  
स्थानं द्रङ्गां देवः हुयवेदनः कन्त्यः च ॥ ११८ ॥ (973) ॥).

<sup>44</sup> Th. Zachariae, Die indischen Wörterbücher (Grdr. I, 3 B.), p. 26, §16.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. p. 37, §20.

<sup>46</sup> The Comm. is for a certain part perhaps the own work of Māñkha. Not even the word *nagara* is found in this Dictionary.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. also the Scholia on 972.

Ten words occur here and in the *Amara-kosa* (II, 2, 1) we find beyond others not mentioned in the list: *nagarī*, *pattana*, *putabhedana*, *sthāniya*, *nigama*; (II, 2, 2,) *nagara* and (II, 2, 19) *grāma* and *ghoṣa*. In the *purādhyaṭaya* of Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayanti* (ed. G. Oppert) (p. 159, 11 ff.) occur: *nagarī*, *nagara*, *pnī*, *sthāniya*, *puta*, *khetā*, *grāma*, *karveta*, *karvatīka*, *karvaṭa*, *dronamukha*, *pattana*, *putabhedana*, *pattana*, *skandhavāra*, *rājadhāni* and many others. In the Buddhist Dictionary, finally, the *Mahāvyutpatti*, these words are enumerated; *kotta* (226, 1), *grāma* (11), *nagara* (13), *nigama* (17), *rājadhāni* (17), *pura* (18), *pattana* (38).

The word *samāja* can be traced to the time of Aśoka it being well known. On the other hand, *maḍamba* is not found in the P. W., while we meet it in an inscription of the Pallava king Śivaskandhavarman, which certainly is of later times.<sup>48</sup> By the foregoing remarks we are entitled to make the statement: the further we progress in the epochs of literature the more we meet a developed list of settlements. And some general remarks support this view.

It is impossible that each author or compiler of each text should have invented these terms; all

48 He is also known as *yuvamahārāja*, successor to the throne, in Lüder's List No. 1205. For the residence of the Pallava kings, Kāñcipuram, cf. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Ind. Ant.* XLIV (1915), p. 127-9. Another Śivaskandhavarman belongs to the Śātakarni-family, cf. A. Venkatasubbiah, *Ind. Ant.* XLVI (1917), p. 154 f.

of them go back evidently to a common source, whereby the list in *Utt.* for instance may represent the increased volume of it.<sup>49</sup> The assumption of a latter insertion would only confirm the view that the texts are not the original or the unaltered writings. Finally, only a high developed state of life, especially of the commercial and of city life, would be found worthy of being taken in such a list in a holy text-book.

When we risk to express our opinion for a nearer limitation, based on the arguments adduced above, we can establish three to four epochs: 1. *Patañjali*; 2. *Tantrākhyāyikā*; 3. the *Purāṇas*; and 4. the lexicographical literature. Only with these latter two categories the list in the Jaina works can be compared: the list, resuming all the arguments, can therefore be dated back to a time hardly prior to the eighth century A. D., but an age of one or two centuries more, that is to say, the ninth or tenth century, seems thoroughly not inadequate.

49 The common source could have been a Dictionary or a formularium, what would be again a sign of the assumed late date. Such sohematas seem not to have been unknown in Indian literature; perhaps also the kāvyas in their pictures and comparisons may have used them (cf. Otto Walter, *Indica* III, p. 32); for the Buddhist literature cf. R. O. Franke's translation of the *Dīgha-Nik.*, p. 7, n. 2.—That the kośas had taken the words from the Jain works is impossible, because the more or less similar lists occur in other works, because the character of the list points at a Dictionary and because also in the Dictionaries appears a certain development.

## 2. FORTIFICATIONS.

In *Acār.* (II, 3, 2, 14) there are enumerated some fortifications: vappāṇī, phalihāṇī, pāgārāṇī, torēṇāṇī, aggalāṇī, aggalapāsagāṇī, gadḍao, dario, in Skt.: vapra, parikhā, prākāra, toraṇa, argala, argalapāśaka, garta, dari (cf. also II, 3, 3, 1). *Aup.* § 1 describes the town Campaka as adorned with pāgārāparikkhittā. kavisīsaga.....atṭālaycariyadaragopuratoraṇa.....rāyamaggā.....phaliha-indakhilā (पागारपरिक्खित्ता । कविसीसग.....अट्टालयचरियदारगोपुर-तोरण.....रायमग.....फलिहृदखीला). Parts of fortress and weapons occur in *Utt.* (IX, 20, resp. 18).

There is no difficulty to explain the terms, especially in connexion with the durgavidhāna-Adhyāya of the Kautiliya *Arthaśāstra* (II, 3, 21, p. 51-54). We meet there the words: vapra (51, 16f.), parikhā (51, 11/15), prākāra (52, 3f.); while *Aup.* has the following terms in common with the *Arthaś.*: kapisīrṣaka (52, 5), atṭālaka (52, 9), rathacaryā (52, 5) and cāryā (52, 15), gopura (53, 18) rājamārga (54, 12,), indrakīla (53, 15), dāra is found (404, 15), argala (53, 1) and toraṇa (53, 14) in toraṇasirah.

Enumerations of the fortifications are quite common in the Epic and conventional, therefore this fact alone would not deserve further notice. But the following moments are worthy of short consideration: the affinity of expressions in the Jaina Sūtras and in the *Arthaś.*, and on other hand the history of some words,

The material of the Epic is collected for a great part in Hopkins' most valuable paper<sup>50</sup>; "we

have one set of phrases constantly repeated with slight variations." There occur prākāra, torapa, atṭa, and vapra; argala is mentioned in *Raghuv.*, *Mrcch.*, *Rām.* etc. That as well as parikhā (cf. *Pān.* V, 1, 17) and prākāra (*Patañjali*, *Mahābh.* Vol. II, p. 342 ff. on *Pān.* V, I, 16) are such general words that nothing can be concluded from them. But not so with the terms, kapiśīrṣaka and indrakila.

Kapiśīrṣaka is, as the P. W. informs us, found in *Hemac. Abhidh.* (981) and in *Trikāṇḍas.* (II, 26). Besides these the word is cited in *Halāyudha Abhidh.* (V, 2): prākārāgṛe pikapiśīrṣam (प्राकाराग्रे पि कपिशीर्षम्) just as in *Hemac.*'s. prākārāgṛam kapiśīrṣam<sup>51</sup> (प्राकाराग्रं कपिशीर्षम्). In the *Man-khakosa* (915) kapiśīrṣa is explained with bhitti-śringe "the top-edge of a wall." In the *S'abdakalpad.* cited in P. W. s. v. regarding drumaśīrṣa (cf. also kravyaśīrṣa) the *S'abdacandrikā* says:

Kapiśīrṣam drumaśīrṣam tathā cākhetasīrṣa-  
kam,  
iti kutṭimabhedāḥ syuḥ sābdikaiḥ samudāhṛtāḥ ॥  
(कपिशीर्ष हुमशीर्ष तथा चाखेटशीर्षकम् ।  
इति कृष्णभेदाः स्युः शाविदकैः समुदाहृताः ॥).

When P. W. explaining the word, translates ākhetasīrṣaka with "a kind of mine" it is inconsistent with the common meaning of kutṭima "floor." But the reading ākhetasīrṣaka must be wrong. Ākhoṭa-(ka) also seems to need a correction

51 It deserves to be noted that the Ms. of *Halāyudha* have instead of kapiśīrṣam... prakārtitam and those of *Hemacandra* kampiśīrṣam, which seems to indicate how little the term was known.

to *khoṭa*-(*ka*). The reason for this correction is given by two sources: *Trikāṇḍas.* (11, 2, 6) notes as synonymous with *kapiśīrṣa*; *khodakaśīrṣaka* and *krayaśīrṣaka*; in the Vienna-Ms. of the *koṣa* the reading *ghoṭaka* is found. The *Divyāvadāna* again, (p. 220, 21) has *shodaka*. In the Index it is corrected by the editors (Cowell-Neil, p. 692) to *khodaka*. Th. Záchariae already remarked<sup>52</sup> the doubtful sense of this word occurring also in the modern compilation by Galanos as *kotaśiras*. In the *Mahāvyutpatti* (226, 36) under the parts of a fortress is found *khoṭaka*, with the various readings khāṭaka and khōṭhaka. There can be little doubt that all these forms go back to a common *khoṭakasīrṣa*, *khoṭasīrṣa* or forms like that. The proof for this statement is in *Divyāvadāna* (220, 21); the text runs as follows: *teṣु prākāreṣu caturvidhāḥ ṣodakā* (read: *khoṭakā*) *māpitāḥ suvarṇamayā rūpyamayā vaidūryamayāḥ sphatikamayāḥ*, तेषु प्राकारेषु चतुर्विधाः पोटका (खोटका) मापिताः सुवर्णमया रूपमया वैदूर्यमयाः स्फटिकमयाः): It is evident on a *prākāra* there could be only cornices, here of fourfold kind. But I think, we also must accept a second emendation in the above cited text of the *sabdak.*; in note 2 on *Divyāv.* (220, 21) stands: AD read *kramacīrshāṇipitā*; the suggestion of the editors would be supported by *Trikāṇḍas.* (II, 2, 6.) But Záchariae (l. c.) expressed his opinion that *kramaśīrṣa* seems to be the correct reading. If it is right there is little probability of a third reading as *drumaśīrṣaka*, instead of which we therefore have to read *kramaśīrṣaka*.<sup>53</sup>

52 *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1888, p. 854f.

53 To explain the mistake is perhaps not difficult in respect of the ligatures *dru* and *kra*. Because of

Kapiśīrṣa is known also in the Buddhist literature. Kapiśīsaka is found in *Cullavagga* (V, 14, 3), *Mahāparinibbānasutta* (V, 32); *Mahāsudassanasutta* (II, 24); *Pātimokkha* (Pāc. 19). It is evident from the context of these passages, as noted also by T. W. Rhys Davids<sup>54</sup> and H. Oldenberg,<sup>55</sup> that kapiśīsa is a part of the door-posts, but not the lintel, because it is mentioned as having been leaned against. These passages belong to the old Buddhist literature, in which kapiśīsa has another meaning. When we, however, meet in the late Sanskrit Dictionaries and in Jain works kapiśīrṣa as the coping of a wall there must be a certain difference of period between them. And also the congruence between the Jain-texts and the *Arthas*. must be noted; here we find (p. 52, 5) kapiśīrṣa on the top of the prākāra, which is made of stone.<sup>56</sup>

In the same work, *Arthas*. p. 53, 15. occur *indrakīla*, explained by the Comm. on *Rājaprasn.* (*ibid.*, n. 5): ..... *indrakīlaśca sampātitakavāṭadvayādhārabhūtaḥ praveśamadhyabhāgi*..... (इन्द्रकीलश्च सम्पातिकवाटद्वयाधारभूतः प्रवेशमध्यभागी). The word is mentioned very often in Buddhist literature<sup>57</sup> in the meaning "threshold." That is clear not only from passages

the little acquaintance with such rare terms the precise meaning of *khoṭa(-ka)sīrṣa* as well as that of *kramaśīrṣa* is unknown. They were—it seems—architectural terms.

54. *SBE* XX, p. 106, n. 3.

55. *SBE* XI, p. 95, n. 1; here is the Comm. by Buddhaghosa cited. Cf. *SBE* XIII, p. 35.

56. Cf. the note under the text.

57. Cf. the *Dictionary of the Pāli-Text Society* s. v.

as *Jāt.* (I, 89); *Suttavibhaṅga* (85, 1, 3), but also from the Buddhist Sanskrit literature: *Avadānaśataka* (*Bibl. Buddhica XIII*, I, 109, 1): *yadā ca bhagavatā indrakile pādo nyastah tadeyam mahāpr̄thivī ṣadvikāram prakampitā bhagavataḥ purapradeṣe* (यदा च भगवता इन्द्रकीले पादो न्यस्तः तदेयं महापृथिवी पञ्चिकारं प्रकम्पिता भगवतः पुर-प्रवेशे); in extenso we read the āścaryāni, when the Bhagavān crosses a city's threshold, in *Divyāv.* (250, 19; 251, 12; 364, 27); 365, 15 (nagaradvāram indrakile, 365, 1; cf. nagarapradeṣe (365, 16); 544, 6ff. where are enumerated three indrakīlas, that of the town (nagare indrakīlo), that of the king's palace (rājakule indrakīlo) and that of the harem (antahpura (!) indrakīlaśca).<sup>58</sup> In none of the Sanskrit-Dictionaries-as far as I know-occurs the word indrakīla; by the Comm. on *Aup.* §1 it is explained by: *gopurāvayavaviśeṣah* "a special part of the gopura." The *Mahāvyutpatti* mentions (286, 88) the term on side of argada. In the Brahmnical litarature the P. W. cites (vol. V additions, cf. VII, 1713 s. v.) Varāhamihira's *Brhatsaṃhitā* (33, 22; 46, 74; 89, 19); the passage of the *Rām.* (II, 80, 18) has the reading indranīla; the Comm. explains the v. l. indrakīla with *parvatasadṛśah*, because Indrakīla is the name of the Mandara (e. g. *Hemac. Abhidh.* 1030). Another text, where indrakīla is found, is the Pūrnabhadra-Recension of the *Pañcatantra* (*Tantrākhyāna*, ed. by Joh. Hertel, HOS XI), p. 3, 5-7 in a long phrase,

58. In *Visuddhimagga* by Buddhaghosa (ed. PTS.) I, p. 72 Anurādhapura has two indrakīlas. The word is frequently used in comparison, to denote the physical and moral steadiness.

dealing with the different specialities of a fortified town, which may be cited: *nagaram vividhayantrapraharanācarāṇapariṇagopurāṭṭalakam visamkaṭotkaṭadṛḍhapaṛighakapāṭatoranārgalopagatendra-kilavipuladvāram suvihitaśringāṭakacatuspathapratisthitānekadevayatanam parikhāparikaritocchari-tahimagirisadṛṣṭākāraprākāravalayaparivestitam* (नगरं विविधयन्त्रप्रहरणाचरणपरिषूर्णगोपुराद्यालकं विसङ्कटोत्कटदृष्टपरिवकपाटतोरणार्गलोपगतेन्द्रकीलविपुलद्वारं सुविहितशृङ्खाटकचतुष्पथप्रतिष्ठितम् नेकदेवायतनं परिखापरिकरितोच्चरितहिमगिरिसद्वशाकारप्रकारवल्यपरिवेष्टितम् ॥).

It would be useless to infer from the date of the texts, where *indrakila* occurs, as to the age of the word, because its technical character could have restricted the occurrence. Nevertheless is it not significant that we meet it (although it is in *Dhammanada* and *Theragāthā*) in the Buddhist Sanskrit literature, but not in the Brahmanical before the 6th. cent.? And again we have to assert the congruence between the Jain works and the *Arthasāstra*.

### 3. TOWN AND VILLAGE AUTHORITIES:

(a) In *Aup.* (§45) is the *nagaraguttiya* = Skt. *nagaraguptika* mentioned. It is quite uncertain, whether this word is a technical term, an official title, or a general designation for a town-officer. But it may be noted that we meet this word also in Buddhist literature as *nagaraguttika*.<sup>59</sup>

(b) *gāmarakkha* is found in *Ācār.* (I, 8, 2, 8); also concerning the word, Skt. *grāmarakṣa*, it is doubtful whether it represents an official title.

<sup>59</sup> R. Fick, *Die sociale Gliederung*, Kiel 1897, p. 28, 103  
f.—Besides in the *Jātakas* I have nowhere found the title.

## 4. HOUSES.

Already H. Jacobi remarked in his translation of *Utt.* (IX, 24<sup>60</sup>) that a *vardhamānagrīha* is the best kind of house according to *Varāham. Brhats.* (53, 36) : śreṣṭham nandyāvartam sarvesām vardhamānasañjñām ca ( श्रेष्ठं नन्द्यावर्तं सर्वेषां वर्धमानसंज्ञं च । ). Verse 33 says that the door should not be made facing the south : dvārālindo'ntagataḥ pradakṣiṇo'ṅgah subhastataścānyah tāvacca vardhamāne dvāram tu na daksinām kāryam ( द्वारालिङ्गोऽन्तगतः प्रदक्षिणोऽङ्गः शुभस्तत्थान्यः तावच्च वर्धमाने द्वारं तु न दक्षिणं कार्यम् ॥ ). The passage of the *Matsyapurāṇa* 254, 3<sup>61</sup> agrees with that : daksiṇadvārahīnam tu vardhamānamudāhṛtam ( दक्षिण-द्वारहीनं तु वर्धमानमुदाहृतम् । ). From Dictionaries<sup>62</sup> the word is found only in *Halāy. Abhidh.* II, 150 :

Śvastiko vardhamānaśea namdyāvartādayastathā,  
vīchamadakaviśeṣāḥ syuramī bhūpativeśmanah.

स्वस्तिको वर्धमानश्च नन्द्यावर्तादयस्तथा ।

विच्छिद्दकविशेषाः स्वुरमी भूपतिवेशमनः ॥

*Rām.* V, 4, 8 (ed. Gorr. V, 10, 4) describes the *vardhamānagrīhas* of *Laṅkā*; the Comm. cites these two slokas : vardhamānairgrīhairvardhamānanāma-kasamsthānavadgrīhaiḥ ( वर्धमानैर्गृहैवर्धमाननामकसंस्थानवद्गृहैः ). Catuhśālam caturdvāram sarvatobhadrasamjñitam, paścimadvārarahitam nandyāvartāhvayam tu tat.

चतुःशालं चतुर्द्वारं सर्वतोभद्रसंज्ञितम् ।

पश्चिमद्वाररहितं नन्द्यावर्ताहृवयं तु तत् ॥

—60— *SBB XIV*, p. 38, n. 1.

—61— ed. Ānandāśrama S. vol. 54, 1907.

—62— The reference in P. W. for *Hemac. Anekārthas.* IV, 189 is wrong; it is clear that *Vardhamāno vīrajine* (वर्धमानो वीरजिने) is the name of *Vardhamāna Mahāvīra*.

dakṣinadvārarahitam vardhamānam dhanapradam,  
prāgdvārarahitam svastikākhyam putradhana-  
pradam,

दक्षिणद्वाररहितं वर्धमानं धनप्रदम् ।  
प्रागद्वाररहितं स्वस्तिकाख्यं पुत्रधनप्रदम् ॥

ityukteḥ (इत्युक्तेः).

The source cannot be traced; for the age of the word the occurrence in the *Sundarakāṇḍa*<sup>63</sup> has no importance, and the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* remains therefore—besides the *Aup.*—for this term the earliest proof.

Houses are beautiful and painted, filled with jasmine and perfume, have a door (*kapāṭa*) and a white ceiling.<sup>64</sup> But there must be laid less stress on such passages as *Kalpas.* II, 32; therewith (?) 100 the festival decorations of a town are described.

## 5. ESTABLISHMENTS.

For the picture of a town and for city-life the passage *Acār.* II, 2, 2, 8 is of some importance. There are mentioned 18 or 19 different buildings or kinds of establishments, the names of which may be given first in Sanskrit, in brackets the Prākrit form, and when the Skt.—equivalent is uncertain, only the latter:

1. āveśana (āesañāni)
2. āyatana (āyatāñāni)
3. devakula (devakulāñi)

<sup>63</sup> Cf. H. Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, Bonn 1893, p. 124.

<sup>64</sup> *Utt.* XXXV, 4; for *ulloca*—(*ulloya*) in *Kalpas.* II, 32 and 100 see Th. Zachariae, *Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie*, Berlin 1883, p. 58.

4. sabhā( sabhāo )
5. pavākaraṇāṇī
6. paṇyagṛha ( paṇiyagihāṇī )
7. yānasālā ( jāṇasālāo )
8. sudhākarmānta ( sudhākammamāntāṇī )
9. daubbhakammamāntāṇī
10. vaddbhakammamāntāṇī
11. pappakaimmamāntāṇī
12. aṅgārakarmānta ( imgālakammamāntāṇī )
13. kāṣṭhakarmānta ( kaṭṭhakammamāntāṇī )
14. śīnaśānakarmānta ( susāṇakammamāntāṇī )
15. sānti ( saṃti )
16. sūnyāgāra ( sunṇāgāra )
17. girikandara ( girikam̄dara )
18. sānti? ( saṃti ) . . . .
19. śailopasthānakarmānta ( selovaṭṭhāṇakam̄māntāṇī ).

1. āveśana, known to the Lexicographers, as to: *Sāsvata* 587. (āveśe sālāyāmapi śilpinām); *Mañkhakosa* 510 (the same); *Amarak.* II, 2, 7 (śilpaśālā);<sup>65</sup> *Halāy*, II, 141 (the same); *Vaijayanti* p. 160, 44 (the same); *Hemac. Abhidh.* 1000 (the same); *Hemac. Anekārthas.* IV, 161 (śilpiveśmani). Kīlūka on *Manu* IX, 265 says śilpagṛhāṇī; the same may be meant in *Kanṭ Arthas.* 144, 19. The meaning “workshop” is therefore quite certain, but the word is not of high age.

2. āyatana; and

3. devakula are common designations for smaller or bigger sanctuaries, or temples.

65 So to read instead of śilpas.

8. *sudhākarmānta*. H. Jacobi translates (*S. B. E.* XXII, p. 126) this word by "distilleries", assuming the meaning "nectar" or *sudhā*. But it seems little probable that a distillery in so progressed times as the other establishments indicate, should be named from *sndhā*, whose one meaning according to the Dictionaries is *amṛta*; one must rather expect *surākarmānta*, e. g. *Upās.* VIII, 240 (cf. A. F. R. Hoernle's transl., *Bibl. Ind.*, p. 156f., n. 323). Against *sudhā* as liquor speaks also the unlikelihood of such an establishment for the lodging of a mendicant. *Sudhā* is an *anekārtha*; the *Comm.* on *Amarak.* III, 4, 104 cites *Ajaya* and the meanings adduced there are found in *Sāsvāta* 334, 761; *Hemac. Anek.* II, 252 and some of them in *Halāy. Abhidh.* II, 139; *Māṇkhak.* 413; the *Mahāvyutpatti* knows 231, 3 in the P-Ms. *Sudhā* as synonymous with *amṛta*, in 234, 24 it is a plant. Another meaning of *sudhā* as a tree was hitherto misunderstood, which also Oppert in his *Vocabulary* s.v. *ganeṣṭi* in *Vaijayanī* p. 223, 89 has omitted. It is due to Th. Zachariae<sup>71</sup> who designates the meaning of *sudhā* as a tree "Guilandina Bonducella." Well known is the meaning "whitewash" and we could therefore explain *sudhā-karmānta* as an "establishment for whitewashing."<sup>72</sup> But there cannot be denied that there exists another possibility of explanation; *sudhā* has also the meaning of *mūrvā* and *snuhi*, "spurge;" *mūrvā* is *Sansevieria Roxburghiana* Schult. and was used for the girdle (*mekhalā*) of *kṣatriyas* and for bow-

71 *Beiträge* p. 17 f.

72 Cf. *Bhāṣā'a Pralimānāṭaka* p. 39-41.

strings.<sup>73</sup> While the former explanation on the whole seems preferable, the latter possesses some degree of probability in respect of the next term.

9. *dabbhamamta* represents a Skt. *darbhakarmānta*;

10. *vaddhakammamta* is probably a Skt. *vrddhakarmānta*;

11. *pappakammamta* is difficult to explain. Jacobi (*l. c.*) translates these three words by: "houses where Darbha-grass, bark, trees..... are worked." For *vaddha*<sup>o</sup> exists a *v. l. vabbha*<sup>o</sup>, for *pappa*<sup>o</sup> again *puvva*<sup>o</sup> and *vana*<sup>o</sup>; the latter seems to be an attempt to supply the unknown or less known expression by a better known. For an explanation, only suggestive, we must refer to the whole lesson. It speaks about the lodging of mendicants and also in II, 2, 3, 18 there are enumerated sorts of grass, on which a couch can be prepared. Under these sorts there occurs a *paccaka*-grass, in *Sūtrakṛt.* II, 2, 7 *pappaka*. It is very likely that our *pappa*<sup>o</sup> is identical with *pappaka* in *Sūtrakṛt.* II, 2, 7; if it is true, that *dabbha* = *darbha*, *pappa* is a sort of grass<sup>74</sup> and the same as *pappaka*, then *vaddha* must also be a sort of grass, perhaps "high-grass", "reed-grass"<sup>75</sup>. If, however, this explanation is correct there remains still that of *karmānta*; the use of *darbhagrass* for religious ceremonies

73 Cf. Kullūka on *Manu* II, 42; Hopkins, *JAOS* XIII, p. 271 and n.

74 P. W. knows *parpa* "young grass".

75 But *vrddha* as neutrum is the benzoe plant, *Amarak.* II, 4, 4, 10; Hemac. *Anekārthas.* II, 247.

cannot be taken here in consideration; perhaps the employment in medicine could be meant<sup>76</sup>.

12. *aṅgārakarmānta* explains itself as a "coal-establishment", perhaps "charcoal-burning".

13. *kāṣṭhakarmānta* can be only "wood-works"; the *Kauṭ. Arthaś.* gives in the *kupyādhya-kṣa* (p. 99–101) a good impression of such a *karmānta*; and the *śloka* (p. 101, 1f) says:

Bahirantaśca karmāntā vibhaktāssarvabhāṇḍikāḥ,  
ājīvapurarakṣarthāḥ kāryāḥ kupyopajīvinā[m].

( वहिरन्तथ कर्मान्ता विभक्तास्सर्वभाण्डिका ।  
आजीवपुररक्षार्थाः कार्याः कुप्योपजीविनाम् ॥ )

14. *śmaśānakarmānta*. That again is a term not easily to be understood. An "establishment on a burial-ground" can be explained only in regard to the cremation and burial of corpses. So we find in the Sanskrit-literature the *śmaśāna* as the play-ground of all sorts of demons, especially in the *Vetālapañcavimsati*<sup>77</sup>, and as the field of working for exorcisers and sorcerers. *Mṛtapa* is explained by *Nīlakaṇṭha* on *Mhbh.* XIII, 48, 21 with *śmaśānādhikārin* and by *Rāma* on *Rām.* I, 59, 19 with *śavavastrādihāriṇah*. In the Comm. on *Dhammap.* (P. T. S. I, p. 68–70 we read from a *susānagopikā*, who instructs a follower of the *Tathāgata* about the rules on a burial-ground<sup>78</sup>.

76 U. Ch. Dutt, *Materia Medica*, Calcutta 1877, p. 266.

77 Cf. *AKM* VIII (1881), p. 6, 38 ff. A full description of a *śmaśāna* is given in *Satapatha-Br.* XIII, 8, 1, 1 f.

78 This story is found now translated in the Buddhist Legends by E. W. Burlingame, *IOS* XXVIII, p. 185 ff.

Those persons, living on a burial-mound<sup>79</sup>, must announce the fact to the susānagopakas (śmaśānago°), to the oldest monk (mahāthera) and to the gāmabhojaka (grāmabho°), the freeholder of the village. About the work, which he has to perform, he is instructed that the corpses are to be placed on the funeral pyre and honored by perfumes and garlands and the performance of rites to be practised. King Hariścandra saw himself in a dream as a pukkasa performing the obsequies of the corpses on the burning-ground, for which duty he is paid (*Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* VIII, 132–134); here, VIII, 205–208 the śmaśāna is described, but in *S'atap.-Brāhm.* XIII, 8, 1ff. a full description is given.

All that is little for a sufficient explanation of a śmaśānakarmānta; it remains only probable that it means the burning of corpses and supplying of the necessary material and works.

In the next terms upasthānakarmānta has to be added<sup>80</sup>, the whole sentence forms a tatpuruṣa; the translation must be “establishments for lodging in.....” upasthāna has therefore here the meaning as P. W. s. v. 3 states: “stay”.

15. sāntyāgāra, to be read with regard to śūnyāgāra, is a hall or temple for ceremonies, e. g. for the nīrājana-ceremony as described by *Varāham. Brhats.* 44, 1ff.

79 The śmaśāna as a dwelling-place is mentioned Ācār. I, 7, 2, 1. Susānagopaka corresponds with a Skt. śmaśānapāla in *Kathāsarits.* XVIII, 107,

80 The reading of the MSS. is not uniform. One Ms. has after each word kammamftūni.. .

16. *sūnyāgāra* "an empty house" is occurring also in Buddhist literature, but-as it seems-in different sense. To dwell in an empty house is interdicted by the Brahmanical religious law (*Manu IV*, 57; *Viṣṇu LXX*, 13). In Buddhist literature again the monks are repeatedly directed to meditate in a *sūñāgāra*; there occurs often the expression: *etāni bhikkhave* (or *Ānand*, in *Majjh.-Nik.* I, 118; III, 332) *rukhamūlāni etāni sūñāgārāni*<sup>81</sup> *jhāyatha bikkhave mā pamādattha mā pacchāvippatisārino ahuvattha* (एतानि भिक्षुवे रुक्षमूलानि एतानि सुञ्जागराणि ज्ञायथ भिक्षुवे मा प्रादत्य मा पच्छाविप्पतिसारिनो अहुवत्थ) (*Ang.-Nik.* IV, 139; 392; *Samy.-Nik.* IV, 133; *Divyāv.* p. 344, 8-11). Different meanings are to be attributed to the word in *Dīgha-Nik.* VIII, 22 and XVI, 25.<sup>82</sup>

17. *girikandara* are "hill-caves;" in the rules, prescribed by Buddha, *Cullav.* VI, 1, 2; cf. *Mahāv.* I, 30, 4 *lenas* are allowed to the bhiksus and the inscriptions (cf. the Index in Lüders' List p. 221 s. v. *lena*) as well as the explorations

81 In connexion with *rukhamūla* we find *sūñāgāra* *Ang.-Nik.* III, 53 (45, 3); V, 109 (60, 4); V, 207 (99, 7); V, 323 (*Ekkadasaka-Nipāta X*, 3). Further cf. *Majjh.-Nik.* I, 33, 213; *Ang.-Nik.* V, 131 f. and *Mahāvyutpatti* 126, 88: *bṛmhayitū sūnyāgārānām* (बृम्हयिता सून्यागराणी) *Ang.-Nik.* V, 88 the monk shall be delighted in a *sūñāgāra*. Cf. Monier-Williams, Dictionary s. v. *sūnyālaya*; according to the second edition the references are found in the first edition according to which "the sleeping in such a house is forbidden".

82 Cf. Franke's translation of the *Dīgha-Nik.* p. 189, n. 3.—*sūñāgāra* occurs *Aup.* § 38; *Ācār.* I, 7, 2, 1; *Sūtrakṛt.* I, 2, 2, 13.

in Eastern Turkestan give the best testimonies for the part which caves played as dwelling-places for monks.

18. *sānti?* That a second *sānti* is impossible, cannot be denied; one Ms. omits it altogether, and in a similar passage in *Kalpas*. II. 89 we read *girikamdarasamtisamdhī*, (गिरिकंदरसंतिसंधि) to each of these words according to the Comm.-*giha* has to be added. The Comm. explains also *samdhigṛha* with *bhittyorantarāle pracchannasthānam* (भित्योरन्तराले प्रच्छन्नस्थानम् !).

19. *saila* must again be read together with *upasthānakarmānta* and means therefore a lodging-place on hills.<sup>83</sup>

The interesting items of this enumeration are the public and probably royal establishments like *sabhā*, *prapā*, *panyagrha*, *yānaśālā*; uncertain is the character, whether royal or private, of the *karmāntas* with *sudhā*, *aṅgāra*, *kāṣṭha* and the mysterious grass-sorts. Then the enumeration goes back to public buildings and places, fitted for the retirement of mendicants. Similar passages are found in *Acār*. I, 7, 2, 1; *Aup.* §38, *Kalpas*. II. 89. In the Buddhistic Sanskrit literature we meet

83 A *śailagṛha* has been erected for the teacher: *Ajanta-Inscr.* (*Report Arch. Survey W. I*, IV 1884) p. 134, 1. 6 and is mentioned in a *Karle-Inscription* (*Ep. Ind.* VII, p. 48 f. Ng. 1). E. Senart (p. 49) remarks: "In spite of the general meaning of *selaghara* it seems.....that the expression *gṛha* or *ghara* was habitually restricted to the halls used for worship, those which are generally styled *chaitya caves*."

in *Divyāv.* p. 344, 8f. the following passage: etāni bhikṣavo'raṇyāni śūnyāgārāṇi parvata kanda ragi- rīguhā palā la puñjābhyavakāśa śmaśāna vanapra sthāni (एतानि भिक्षवोऽरण्यानि शून्यागाराणि पर्वतकन्द्रगिरियुहापलालपुञ्जाभ्यवकाश- शमशानवनप्रस्थानानि ॥) In *Ang.-Nik.* IV, 436f. we read: So vivittam senāsanam bhajati arāññam rukkhamūlam pabbatam kandaram giriguham susānam vanapa- ttham abbhokāsam palā la puñjam, so' raññagato vā rukkhāmūlāgato vā suññāgāragato vā nisidati. (सो विवित्तं सेनासनं भजति अरण्णं रुक्खमूलं पवृत्तं कंद्रं गिरियुहं शुसाणं वनपत्थं अब्भोकासं पलालपुञ्जं सोऽरण्णागतो वा रुक्खमूलागतो वा शुचागारागतो वा निसीदति ॥). Such sets of words occur also in Brahmanical literature; e. g. *Manu* IX, 264-266 asks the king to watch over: sabhā, prapa, apūpa- sālā, (veśamadyānnavikraya, catuspatha, caitya- vṛkṣa, samāja, prekṣaṇa, jīrṇodyāna), arānya, kārukāveśana, śūnyāni āgārāṇi.

In such a phrase the enumeration can be well understood, because the places give occasion enough for the handicraft of robbers and thieves. But in the passage considered above we find different circumstances: there are different establishments, public, royal and private, only to be enumerated. It cannot be proved, but made probable that such a list must be an interpolation taken from another source, perhaps again from a lexicon. *Hemac. Abhidh.* 989 ff. gives such material (*āvesana* 1000, *prapā* 1001, *Panyasūlā* 1002); *Amarak.* has II, 2, 6 ff.: *sabhā*, *āyatana*, *vājisālā*, *āvesana*, *prapā*; cf. *Halāy. Abhidh.* II, 138 f.; *Vaijayantī* 160, 39 f. We cannot conclude from these premises with certainty, but that there existed some connexion is hardly possible to be denied.

## II.

## 1 GEOGRAPHY.

## Names of towns.

In *Kalpas. II.* 122 these names of towns are found in the following list given in Skt.:

1. Asthikagrāma	7. Nālanda
2. Campā	8. Mithilā
3. Pr̥ṣṭhicampā	9. Bhadrikā
4. Vaiśālī	10. Ālabhikā
5. Vāṇijagrāma	11. Pañtabhūmi
6. Rājagr̥ha	12. Śrāvastī
	13. Pāpā.

1. *Asthikagrāma.* In his translation (*SBE XXII*, p. 264. n. 2) H. Jacobi cites the Comm. according to which "it was formerly called Vardhamāna, but it has since been called Asthikagrāma, because a Yaksha Sūlapāṇi had there collected an enormous heap of bones of the people whom he had killed. On that heap of bones the inhabitants had built a temple." Accepting this story we must look for the town Vardhamāna.

In *Mhbh.* (I, 126, 9; III, 1, 10) occurs Vardhamānapura, a village according to Nilakanṭha on the second passage, which cannot be in connexion with the other places identified with our Vardhamāna. In Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* we find a people Vardhamāna mentioned in XIV, 7 next to Tāmaliptika and Kośalaka,<sup>84</sup> located in

84 Cf. W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Benn 1920, p. 107 and 117. Vardhamānapura is found also as a town in the West in the Jaina—*Harivamśa*, s. *Ind. Ant.* XV (1886), p. 141 f. Cf. Nundelal Dey, *Ind. Ant.* XLIX (1920), *Suppl.*, p. 25

the East, in the Bardwān region. The passages as XVI, 3; LXXIX, 21; XCIV, 2 speak from the mountain Vardhamāna, of which two occur in the Purāṇas; more to say seems impossible as long as the story alleged by Jacobi cannot be shown elsewhere.

2. Campā. A city, well known from Buddhist literature, four miles to the west of Bhagalpur, the capital of the Aṅga-kingdom.<sup>85</sup>

3. Prsthicampā. There is no other explanation possible than the assumption to see in the name not the suburb, a certain part of the town Campā. In *Aup.* § 38 for instance Mahāvīra stays not in the town Campā; but bāhhim; the meaning of Prsthicampā seems to be something like "High-Campā" or the "Acropolis of Campā." The ruins of a fort, Karnagad, exist till today.<sup>86</sup>

4. Vaisālī, and 5. Vāṇijagrāma. Few (places of India, besides Pāṭaliputra perhaps none), attract and deserve the interest of students of Ancient India in such a high degree as it is the case with Vesāli, one of the central places in

s. v. Bardhamāna 2. In *Āng.-Nik.* V, 342, 346, f. occurs Āṭhakanāgara on the way to Pāṭalimitra; should there exist a connexion between Āṭhakanāgara and Āṭhiyaggāma?

85 Cf. Mark Collins, *The Geographical Data of the Raghurāmē.....Dissertation Leipzig 1907*, p. 23 ff.; T. A. Smith, *Early History*, third ed. 1914, p. 31; N. Dey, *l. c.* P. 44-46.

86 Cf. N. Dey, *l. c.* P. 44.

the history of Buddhism as well as in that of the religion of Mahāvīra.

It is not possible, without autopsy, even without a good map of India, to discuss the problems connected with the ancient site of Vaiśālī; therefore the few remarks are given here in a tentative form; a future inquiry which must be based on the whole Indian literature, especially on the Buddhist and Jinist, down to the records of the Chinese pilgrims.

Three theories about the site of Vaiśālī have been made: 1. That which is expressed by A. Cunningham and completed by V. A. Smith,<sup>87</sup> locating the town at the modern village of Basāṛ (basāḍ) and the neighbouring villages in the Muzaffarpur District of North Bihār. 2. In a letter to Prof. Rhys Davids, W. Voſt expressed his opinion "that Vaiśālī city was situated in the Chaparā District of Bengal, and is represented by the extensive remains of the undescribed walled city of Mānjhī, on the left bank of the Ghāgharā (Gogrā) river, opposite to the confluence of this river with the old bed of the Ganges."<sup>88</sup> 3. A third, similar to the former, is dealt with by W. Hoey in *JASB* XLIX 1900 77 ff., (shortly repeated *JRAS* 1907, p. 46), assuming the site of Vaiśālī eighteen miles to the west from Paleza Ghāṭ, at Cherand, seven miles towards the south-east by east of Chaprā.

87 *JRAS* 1902, p. 267/288 with a map.

88 *JRAS* 1903, p. 583. The promised paper has—as far as I see—never been published.

The indications for the topography of Vaisālī, as laid down in Jain works, are discussed by A. F. R. Hoernle in his translation of the *Uvdsagadasō*.<sup>89</sup> He pointed out that Vāṇiyagāma is another name of the well known city of Vesālī, that Kundagāma or Kundapura is an equivalent for Vesālī. Vāṇiyagāma may be found in the existing modern place of Baniyā (Buneean), lying north-west of Basār.<sup>90</sup> Should this identification be correct, then Vāṇiyagāma could not be another name of Vaisālī, and *Kalpas*. (II. 122) explains that Mahāvīra is said to have stayed twelve years in Vaisālī and Vāṇijagrāma. A further proof against the view held by Hoernle is the analogous connexion between Rājagrha and its suburb Nālanda. Kundapura cannot be equivalent to Vaisālī, because it in *Kalpas*. (100) has again suburbs and is described as *nagara*. An argument against this view is also the name of Mahāvīra as Vaisālian.

A. Weber and H. Jacobi<sup>91</sup> have remarked that the Indian Comm. did not understand the term, found in *Sūtrakṛt*. (I, 2, 3); *Utt.*, (VI, 17.) But a closer consideration will show that the term is without value. Jacobi stated himself (*SBE* XLV, p. 261 n. 1) that the passage (evam se udāha...arahā Nāyaputte bhagavam Vesālie (एवं से उदाह अरहा नायपुत्ते वैसालिए ॥)) is a contradiction to the supposition that the whole lesson was pronounced by Rśabha; Mahāvīra, on the other hand, could not have said about his own person (*Sūtrakṛt*. I, 2,

<sup>89</sup> *Bibl. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 3 ff., n. 3.

<sup>90</sup> Smith, l. c., p. 272 f.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. *SBE* XXII, p. XI.

26) mahayā māhesinā (महया महेसिणा). In *Utt.* (VI, 17) we find the term only in prose annexed to a metrical chapter and neither the Comm. on *Sūtrakṛt* nor that on *Utt.* knows anything about the origin of the name Vaiśālika.<sup>92</sup>

In the following lines may be shown from another standpoint the inconsistency of the historical circumstances respecting Mahāvīra's birth-place and family with the geographical data.

The father of the founder of the Jain religion was the kṣatriya Siddhārtha (*Ācār.* II, 15, 4), to which two other names (*Ācār.* II, 15, 15), are assigned: Sejjamṣa and Jasamṣa.<sup>93</sup> According to the remarks made by Hoernle he was "the chief of Nāya-clan, resident in the Kollāga suburb of the city of Vesālī or Kunḍagāma."<sup>94</sup> Kollāga is situated in a north-easterly direction of Vānija-grāma, whose king was Jiyasattū (*Uvās.* I. 3). The king of Videha was Cetaka, while Jiyasattū is also mentioned as king of Śrāvasti.<sup>95</sup> But we know from Buddhist sources that there existed in Vaiśāli the oligarchy of the Licchavis. Now we have the following relations between the residences:

92 33): Cf. A. Woerter, *Ind. Stud.* XVI (1883), p. 261; *Verzeichnis der Sanskrit und Prākrit-Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek. Zu Berlin*, II, 3 p. 424 n. 1, 434, n. 5.

93 Probably Śreyāmṣa and Yaśāmṣa.

94 *Uvās. transl.* p. 5, note.

95 Hoernle, l. c. p. 103, n. 216.

VIDHEA: KING CETAKA  
 Sravasti, Mithilā, Vāṇijagṛama  
 Ālabhiyā<sup>96</sup> Vaiśāli=Kuṇḍagrāma  
 |  
 Licchavis suburb: Kollāga<sup>97</sup> Jiyasattū  
 king: Siddhārtha

It is quite impossible that such a complicated ruling of the Videha country and the city of Vaiśāli has any degree of likelihood; and the assumption of the identity of Jiyasattū with Cetaka is based on nothing. Cetaka is mahārāja, (Kalpas. Comm. 128), king of Vaiśāli and of Videha,<sup>98</sup> his daughter Trīśalā is Mahāvira's mother (Ācār. II, 15, 15); she is named therefore Videhadattā and Mahāvira therefore again Videha (Ācār. II, 15, 17; Kalpas. 110). And because Vaiśāli was in this time the capital of Videha, Mahāvira is named also Vaiśalian.

Buddhist writings give another picture of Vesāli. The Kotīgāma is mentioned, near the city (Mahāvagga VI, 30); another village is Beluva. In Dīgha-Nik. (XVI, 2, 21; XVI, 3, 2) are described the cetiyas of Vesāli: Udena-, Gotamaka,<sup>99</sup> Sattambaka-, Bahuputra-, Sārandada- and Cāpāla-cetiya. Less importance can be laid on the des-

96 Cf. *Uvās.* I. c. p. 6. n. 9 and *Uvās.* text IV, 155.

97 Perhaps the modern Kolluā (*JRAS* 1902, p. 283).

98 *Uvās.* transl. p. 6, n. 9.

99 R. O. Franke, *Dīgha-Nikāya*, transl. p. 204, n. 5, is right to say that the caityas are sometimes trees; *Divyāv.* 201, 5 and 14. the Gautamanyagrodha is mentioned as a caitya of Vaiśāli.

cription in *Dulva* (III, fol. 80<sup>100</sup>); it may be connected with *Mahāvagga* (VIII, 1) in any way.

So much about Vaiśālī and Vāṇijagrāma; but the chapter of the "history of Vaiśālī" is not yet written.<sup>101</sup> It seems that the coincidence between Buddhist and Jiniṣt literature respecting Vaiśālī is not great and it seems further that the Licchavis do not play the same role in the time of Mahāvīra as in Buddha's time.<sup>102</sup>

6. Rājagṛha and 7. Nālanda. According to the *Bhagavatī*<sup>103</sup> Nālanda was a bāhiriyyā of Rāyagiha (p. 1206) and the same expression we meet in *Kalpas* (II, 122); from *Sūtrakṛt.* (II; 7, 1) we learn that it was situated in a north-eastern direction. In *Digha-Nik.* (I, 1, 1; XI, 1) Nālanda is represented as a greater town, near Rājagṛha. It is possible that the growth of villages, former suburbs, led to independent towns; in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (193, 18) Śrīnālandah is mentioned, separate from Rājagṛha. This town is the modern Rājgīr, NE from Gāya, SE from Patnā.<sup>104</sup> The monastery of Nālanda, according to I-tsing, was

100 W. W. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, London 1907, p. 62.

101 A short article has been published by V. A. Smith in Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics* XII, p. 567 f.: cf. *JRAS* 1905, p. 152-154.

102 to p. 34: Cf. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 26.

103 Cited by Hoernle, *Uvās. transl.* App. I, p. 1.

104 V. A. Smith, *Early History*, p. 31, n. 1.

distant from Rājagrha 5 krosa; today Nālanda may be Bargaon.<sup>105</sup>

8. Mithilā, known by the *Rāmāyaṇa*, has not yet been identified; it was a city of Videha.<sup>106</sup> Bhaddiyā and is found under the same form in Pāli. According to *Mahāvagga* (V, 8, 1) Buddha comes from Bārāṇasī to Bhaddiyā and goes (V, 9, 1) from here to Śrāvasti (Sāvatthi); from Sāvatthi he comes to Bhaddiyanagara (*Jāt*, II, 331 [264]). It must have, therefore, been situated in a northern direction from Benares on the way to Śrāvasti. Bhaddiyanagara is its name in *Mahāvagga* (VI, 34, 1); here it is represented as a city under the regime of the Magadha king Seṇiya Bimbisāra;

<sup>105</sup> JA s. XI, t. XI (1918), p. 157. For the importance of Nālanda in archaeological respect cf. V. A. Smith, ERE IX, p. 126 f. The Correct spelling of the modern name is, according to T. Bloch, JRAS 1909, p. 440 Bargāv, who p. 441-3 informs about his own, but short journey therewith. Known only by the brief notice by V. A. Smith, JRAS, 1917, p. 154 f.; ibid. 1919, p. 239 f. are to me the undertaken explorations, for which see D. B. Spooner, Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, for 1916-1917. About the distance between Rājagrha and Nālanda s. JA s. XI, t. XI (1918), p. 157.

<sup>106</sup> According to T. W. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 37 in the district Tīrthut. I do not know the source, from which H. Jacobi, Das Rāmāyaṇa, p. 68, n. 1 argues that Mithilā and Viśālā have grown together in Buddhist times. Rhys Davids, on the contrary, l. c. p. 26 says that Mithilā was about thirty-five miles north-west from Vesāli. For the size of the Videha-country and of Mithilā cf. T. W. Rhys Davids, JRAS, 1907, p. 642-649.

he says (VI, 34,) 3 : amhākam kira vijite Bhaddiy-anagare... (अम्हाकं किर विजिते भद्वियनगरे ।). In *Divyāvad.* (125, 11 ff.) the Buddha determines on going to Bhadramkaranaṇagara, while staying at Śrāvasti (126, 16). Bhaddiyā is according to *Dhammap.-Comm.* (I, 384); Sp. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, (first edition; 220) in the Aṅga-country; inasmuch as Śrenika Bimbisāra conquered and annexed the kingdom of Aṅga,<sup>107</sup> the two indications do not contradict the historical facts. The Mahāmāyūrī, which belongs to a time prior to the fourth or fifth cent. A. D.,<sup>108</sup> mentions (66, 3)<sup>109</sup> the city Bhadrikā and as the next, Pāṭaliputra (67, 1); it is, because Pāṭaliputra appears (1, 2), very probable to assume with Silva in Lévi the identity of Bhadrāpura (in 2, 2).<sup>110</sup> The twice mentioned neighbourhood of Pāṭaliputra would agree well with the notice that Bhadrikā belonged to the Aṅga-kingdom, respecting the Magadha empire, but

107 Sp. Hardy, l. c., p. 163, n.\*; Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 70, where Campā (s. above) is already in the Magadha kingdom, cf. p. 90. The close relation of the Aṅga and Magadha kingdom is indicated also by the expression Aṅga-Magadhā, *Majjh-Nik.* II, 2; *Paramatthaj.* I, p. 115; II, p. 326, 384.

108 Cf. S. Lévi *JA* s. XI, t. V (1915), p. 19; M. Winteritz, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur* II, p. 271 and 380.

109 *JA*, l. c. p. 48.

110 S. Lévi is not right in declaring (l. c. p. 99) in the Sāñchi-Stūpa-inscription N 187 (Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* II, p. 377) Bhadikiyasa as the inhabitant of Bhadikiya; we must rather expect Bhadiyakasa, further No. 306 (*Ep. Ind.* II, p. 389) names a bhikkhu Bhadika from Kuraghara. Bhaddiya is a name of bhikkhus, theras and khattiyas, very often occurring.

it does not agree with the situation concluded from *Mahāragga* (V, 8 ff.). The explanation can only be to interpret the *Mahāragga*-passages in another way or to give up the identification. The latter possibility is less admissible, except that there existed two cities with the same name. The first way is also only practicable by the interpretation that the Buddha was not going directly from Benares to Bhaddiyā and from here to Śrāvasti, but that these are only points of his travelling; going from Rājagrha (*Mahāragga* V, 7, 1) to Benares, then back to Bhadrikā and from here in a northern direction to Śrāvasti. We learn from the *Dhammap.-Comm.* (I, 384 f.) that king Pasenadi comes, travelling from Bhaddiyana-gara, to a place which is distant from Pasenadi's capital, Sāvatthi, seven yojanas; here he sounds the town Sāketa. In this connexion it may be remembered that Fa-Hian knows the place Shā-he eight yojanas north from Śrāvasti, which is an error, because the latter town lay in a north-eastern direction from Shā-he.<sup>111</sup> Shā-che has been identified by A. Cunningham with Sāketa; In spite of the objection by V. A. Smith<sup>112</sup> we will see that there is still another point which speaks for identification. The monastery of the Jātiyāvana is mentioned on frequent passages in the Buddhist literature, near Bhaddiyā.

10. Ālabhikā. In his note on *Uvās.* (IV. 155) Hoernle<sup>113</sup> made the attempt to identify

111 V. A. Smith, *JRAS*, 1898, p. 523.

112 *JRAS*, 1900, p. 3; cf. W. West, *JAS*, 1905, p. 437-449.

113 *Uvās.* transl. App. III, p. 51-53,

the here-mentioned town Ālabhiyā with Alow in Sp. Hardy's, *Manual of Buddhism* (p. 261 cf. p. 356),<sup>114</sup> and with Ā-le in Fa-Hian's *Travels*. He saw in this place the modern Newal, called Navadevakula by Hiuen-Tsiang.

The town Ālavi is familiar to Buddhist literature with the story of the Yakṣa Ālavaka, residing there and converted by Buddha. V. A. Smith<sup>115</sup> points out that Ā-le (in Legge's transcription) must be either Bāngarmāu or Jogi Kot, four and a half miles east of Newal. While the Chinese text of Fa-Hian gives the distance from Ā-le to Shā-che in south-eastern direction as ten yojanas, the Corean text has only three. For our purpose it is irrelevant whether the distance is ten or three yojanas, it is sufficient to know that Ā-le must be located near Shā-che and Śrāvasti. A proof for this view is *Cullav.* (VI, 17, 1); the Buddha comes from Kitāgiri<sup>116</sup> to Ālavi and goes from here to Rājagrha (VI, 21, 1).

114 The book must be cited in the edition of the year 1860, because the newer edition of the year 1880 is not here in the Library.

115 *JRAS*, 1898, p. 520 f.; cf. also N. Dey, *Ind. Ant.* XLIX (1920), Suppl. s. v. Ālavi, p. 3, who gives Airwa.

116 The situation of Kitāgiri is generally clear from *Cullav.* I, 13, 1 ff. The followers of Assaji and Punabbasu are dwelling in Kitāgiri. A bhikkhu arrives at this place, coming from Kāsi, and goes on to visit the Buddha, then staying at Śrāvasti. Kitāgiri must therefore be placed on the way from Benares to Śrāvasti. I, 13, 5 the bhikkhu declares to be arrived from the land of Kāsi, after dressing in the morning, at Kitāgiri; whether the same day, is uncertain, but it seems so.

That is the argument, mentioned above (p. 35, f.) that all the towns: Shā-che, Ālavi and Bhadrika must be placed in the northern portion of the triangle, formed by Rājagṛha, Benares and Śrāvasti.

According to Fa-Hian (p. 54 in Legge's translation) Ā-le is situated three yojanas south from the northern bank of the Ganges, near Kanauj. From here three yojanas to south-east he reached Shā-che and Shā-che lay eight yojanas south-east<sup>117</sup> from Śrāvasti. There is no question that the text is wrong declaring Shā-che in a northern direction from Śrāvasti; we have, I think, one proof for this emendation in the passage of the *Dhammap.-Comm.* (I, 384), where Shā-che (Sāketa) is founded at a place distant seven yojanas south from Pasenadi's capital Śrāvasti, and a second in *Majjh.-Nik.* (I, 149); here king Pasenadi uses, staying in Sāvatthi, and going to Sāketa, seven rathavinitas, that is to say, seven relay-posts, an institution known from Persia (cf. SWA 191, 5 p. 21, 323 f.). In this region, south or south-east, we must look for Bhaddiyā, in the northern corner of Bihar.<sup>118</sup> But who is to

117 V. A. Smith assumes, *JRAS*, 1898, p. 523, eighteen or nineteen. There is a difference in *Dhammap.-Comm.* I, p. 387 in comparison with Sp. Hardy, *Manual* p. 221, where the king says, his city is only seven yejanas in size and Dhanasijaya thinks it therefore too small for his retinue. That Sāketa was on the way to Sāvatthi is also evident from *Mahāvagga* I, 66, 1; 67, 1; VI, 1, 1 f.; cf. W. Vest, *JRAS* 1905, p. 437 ff., esp. p. 440-445.

118 Could the modern Bottiah be the ancient Bhaddiya. Bhadrikā?

reconcile such a result with the statement that Bhaddiyā lay in the Aṅga-kingdom?

It is true that in the *Dhammap.-Comm.* (I, 384) the Aṅgaratṭha is mentioned, in which Bhaddiyā was situated. But in *Dhammap.-Comm.* (III, 363) we read: Satthā kira Aṅguttarāpesu cārikam caranto...Bhaddiyanagaram gantvā... (सत्था किर अंगुत्तरापेसु चारिकं चरन्तो.....भद्रियनगरं गत्वा...). This country Aṅguttarāpa occurs in *Mahāvagga* (VI, 34, 17), wherein Buddha comes from Bhaddiyā and also in *Suttanipāta* (1917 ed. Faub p. 99, ed. PTS p. 102). The Comm., *Paramatthajotikā* (II, p. 102), remarks: Aṅguttarāpesū ti Aṅgā eva so janapado, Gaṅgāya pana yā uttarena āpo tāsam avidūrattā Uttarāpā ti vuccati (अंगुत्तरापेसु ति अंगा एव सो जनपदो गंगाय पन या उत्तरेन आपो तासं अविदुरत्ता उत्तरापा ति चुच्चति । cf. p. 439 and 440, where Aṅguttarāpānam ratṭham (अंगुत्तरापानं रट्ठं) is mentioned). This explanation based on etymology, may be little satisfying, but it shows the affinity between Aṅguttarāpa and Aṅga.<sup>119</sup> Should it now be impossible that this country Aṅguttarāpa, whose nigama was Āpāna, is the Aṅga-kingdom of the *Dhammap.-Comm.* (I, 384) or did there exist a second, northern Aṅga?

Ālavi is, according to the *Paramatthajotikā* (II, 217) on *Suttanip.* (10), a kingdom and a town: ratṭham pi nagaram pi vuccati, tadubhayam pi idha vatṭati (रट्ठं पि नगरं पि चुच्चति तदुभयं पि इधं वट्टति); therefore the Comm. speaks Ālavinaagara an Ālaviratṭham. The name of Ālavi is found further in the *Paramatthaj.* (II, 265, 269,

<sup>119</sup> Buddha is staying in Aṅguttarāpa: *Majjh-Nik.* I, 359 (54.); 447 (59.).

344); in the *Suttanip.* (1917 ed. Fausboll p. 34, ed. PTS p. 33) Ālavi is probably identical with Āṭavi, whose Yakṣa is Āṭavaka (cf. Ālavaka<sup>120</sup>) in the *Mahāmāyūri* (15 1); the foundation of this town is narrated in the *Mūla-Sar-Vāstivādin-Vinaya* and falls, according to this source, under the king Bimbisāra.<sup>121</sup> In the *Bhagavati*<sup>122</sup> the caitya Pannakālaga outside Ālabhiyā is mentioned.

11. *Paniyabhumi* or *Panitabhumi*, as Jacobi renders the Pkt.-form, is a town, whose identification has not yet been found. Hoernle<sup>123</sup> is right to say that in *Kalpas* the proper name is natural, but in the *Bhagavati*<sup>124</sup> the meaning is unclear and also the number of years inconsistent with that of *Kalpas*. According to the Comm. *Paniyabhumi* was a place in Vajrabhūmi.

From the context in *Kalpas*, as well as in *Bhagavati* it is quite unclear where *Paniyabhumi*

120 The demon Ālavaka is well known; in the Fe-she-liṅg-tsán-king by Dhārmarakṣa (a Chinese form of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*, written between 414-421 A. D.) occurs Verse 1695 a demon 'Alava on the mount Ala (*SBE* XIX, p. 244). The cetiya is named Aggūlava, e. g. *Suttanipāta* 12; *Dhammadīpanī* III, p. 170; *Jāt.* I, 160 (16.); II, 282 (253.); III, 78 (323.); *Āng.-Nik.* IV, 216; *Samy.-Nik.* I, 185; *Paramatthaj.* II, 2 ff.; (F, Spiegel, *Anecdota Pāliaca* p. 83 ff.).

121 S. Lévi, *JA* s. XI, t. V (1915), p. 64; cf. H. Kern, *Manual of Buddhism* (Grundriss III, 8) p. 37, n. 2.

122 Transl. by E. Leumann in Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, App. p. 255:- The town Āṭavi in *Mhbh.* II, 31, 72 has nothing to do with Ālavī..

123 *Uvāc. transl.* App. III, p. 54.

124 E. Leumann in Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, App. p. 250.

should be located. But it seems to be logical to assume that the enumeration of the towns could be hardly arranged topsy-turvy that Śrāvastī in the north and Ālabhikā, probably also Bhadrikā should include a place not lying in the north. And further it seems probable that Paniyabhūmi was near Śrāvastī. Now there exists an inscription of the Mahārāja Mahendrapāladeva (Dighwā-Dubaulī plate<sup>125</sup>); in line 8 there is mentioned a village Pāniyakagrāma in the Śrāvasti-bhukti and Vālayikā-viśaya.<sup>126</sup> The Skt.-form, however, of Paniyabhūmi is not quite certain; Panyabhūmi is also possible; but perhaps for the proposed identification the difference in the quality of the vowels is of less importance.

12. Śrāvastī. It is a sad fact that regarding the correct identification of Śrāvastī there is no agreement between the archaeologists and historians of India. The statements of Cunningham and Hoey have been twice rejected by V. A. Smith.<sup>127</sup> J. Ph. Voey<sup>128</sup> has attempted to justify Cunningham's view, supported by new discoveries of inscriptions.

13. Pāpā. The last of the towns, here considered, is Pāpā or Pāvā, playing a great

125 *Ind. Ant.* XV (1886), p. 112 f., Kielhorn's *List Ep.* *Ind.* VIII, Appendix p. 74, No. 542.

126 *viśaya* is, it seems, the administrative district, bhukti the centre of the reign; cf. *Ind. Ant.* XV, p. 306, l. 29: tirabhuktā Kakṣavaiśayikasvasambaddhā° (तीरभुक्तौ कक्षवैशयिकस्वसम्बद्धां).

127 *JRAS* 1898, p. 520-531; 1900, p. 1-24; cf. *ibid.* 1905, p. 441, n. 1.

128 *JRAS* 1908, p. 971-975.

role in the Buddhist literature as being the place where Buddha,—according to *Digha-Nik.* (XVI, 4, 13 f.)—took his fatal meal.

This Pāvā is represented by the modern village Papaur or Pappaur (Pāvāpura), three miles east of Aliganj Sewan, between Gogra and Gandak, both the tributaries of the Ganges on the left side.<sup>129</sup> The determination of this place is dependent on that of Kuśinagara. But there is a petitio principii inasmuch as the site of Kuśinagara or Kusinārā is again the object of controversies. It seems, however, that the view, held by V. A. Smith,<sup>130</sup> that Kasiā is Vethadipa, is correct and Kuśinagara must be located at 84°51' E. L. and 27°32' N. L., in Nepal at the confluence of the Little Raptī with the Gandak.

Assuming such a statement and the records of the Chinese pilgrims exclude another one—Pāvā must be sought in a region, not too far off Kuśinagara. There is no doubt that we must place all the mentioned towns: Bhadrikā, Ālabhikā, Kuśinagara in a more or less close vicinity of Śrāvasti. In *Digha-Nik.* IV, 1 (= *Mahā-parinibbāna*) the Buddha comes via Vesāli to Bhaṇḍa-gāma, Hatthigāma (5), Ambagāma, Jambugāma, and Bhoganagara (6) to Pāvā (13). (IV,

<sup>129</sup> Hoey's statement in *JASB LXIX*, Part I, (1900), p. 80 cited by R. O. Franke, *Dighanikāya*, transl. p. 222, n. 1.

<sup>130</sup> *JRAS*, 1902, p. 139-163; *ERB*, VII, p. 761-763; the further literature is given on the latter place. For Vethadipa s. also *JRAS* 1908, p. 164 and Smith's article.

33) a Mallian Pukkusa is passing the 'high-road' from Kusinara to Pāvā. And from there Buddha comes to Kusinārā *Dīgha-Nik.* (XVI, 4, 20,<sup>131</sup>) From Pāvā To Kusinārā led another way from Vesāli (*Mahāvagga* VI, 30, 6) via Āpāra, which is in the *Ānguttarāpa Mahāvagga* (VI, 35, 36,) and via Atumā from Śrāvasti *Mahāvagga* (VI, 37, 38). The east-direction of all these places cannot be in question.

In *Dīgha-Nik.* (XXIX, 1) the Buddha receives the news from Mahāvīra's death in Pāvā, while staying in the Sakka-country. Franke<sup>132</sup> remarked in connexion with *Dīgha-Nik.* (XXXIIIT, 1, 66) that Buddha was at the same time in the Sakka-country and in Pāvā. Such a conclusion is wrong. In *Majjh.-Nik.* (II, 243 1041) we read: Ekam samayam Bhagavā Sakkesu viharati Sāmagāme. Tena kho pana samayena, Nigantho Nātāputto Pāvāyam adhunā kālagato hoti... (p. 244). Atha kho Cundo samanuddeso Pāvāyam vassavuttho yena Sāmagāmo yen āyasmā Ānando ten upasamākami... (एकं समयं भगवा सक्षेत्रे विहरति सामगामे तेन खो पन समयेन निर्गंठे नातपुत्रो पावायं अधुना कालगतो होति... अथ खो चुंदो समण्ड्वैसो पावायं वस्सवुत्थो येन सामगामो. येन आयसा आर्नदो तेन उपसंक्षिप्तः।) The conclusion is possible that Pāvā must be near Sāmagāma in the Sakka-country, but never that Buddha was in Pāvā. And also the identity of this samanuddesa Cunda with the kammāraputta of *Dīgha-Nik.* (XVI, 4, 13) is not plausible, because this latter can be the son of the older Cunda of *Dīgha-Nik.* (XXIX) and *Majjh.-Nik.* (II, 244).

131 Cf. *Cullav.* XI, 1, 1.

132 In his *Dīghanikāya-transl.* p. XLII, n. 1.

But that does not involve the necessity that Pāvā must be situated in the Sakka-country; latter, on the foot of the Nepal hills, "to the north of the modern Bastī and Gorakhpur Districts"<sup>133</sup> is near the region, where Pāpā has to be sought. It was necessary to state that, because there could arise the problem of another Pāvā; for in *Digha-Nik.* (XXXIII, 1, 1) Pāvā is named 'Mallānam-nagaram' (मल्लानं नगरं ।) XXXIII, 1, 2, the Mallas are named Pāveyyaka. Because the Sakka-territory was in the neighbourhood of the Malla-territory,<sup>134</sup> the identity of these two Pāvās is out of question. Now there existed still a second Pāvā, says J. Charpentier,<sup>135</sup> near Rājagrha and this scholar denies that this Pāvā could be the same where Mahāvīra died. It is quite correct that Mahāvīra did not pass away in the Pāvā near Rājagrha, but not, because the two are not identical, rather because there did not exist a second Pāvā.

First no source is known where such a statement will be found; further the above cited passages from Buddhist works and the place of Pāvā in the list make it clear that Pāvā could only be the Malla-Pāvā.<sup>136</sup> Only later sources

133 Smith, *Early History* p. 29 and n. 2.

134 T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* p. 26.

135 *The Cambridge History of India I*, Cambridge 1922, p. 163.

136 J. Charpentier, *Ind. Ant.* XLIII (1914), p. 228, cf. p. 177. The attribute majjhimā (*Kalpos*. II. 122, 123, 147) does not involve that there existed three Pāvās nor does it mean a Pāvā in the madhyadeśa; the meaning is that Mahāvīra died midden (?) in the city in the king's palace,

give the information of Mahāvīra's death in consequence of the discourse with Upāli.<sup>137</sup> But—it seems to me—here is a problem: we hear that Gosāla Maikhaliputta died sixteen years before Mahāvīra<sup>138</sup> in consequence of an attack against the latter; the whole story of Upāli seems to be a doublet of the Gosāla-episode, inasmuch as the old texts know nothing about that.<sup>139</sup> The invention of a second Pāvā is due to the rencontre between Upāli and Mahāvīra, because the first visited Buddha, while staying in Nālanda; and if in the Amāvatāra Sp. Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, P. 271 stands: "In consequence of these things the tirttaka declared that his rice-bowl was broken, his subsistence gone; and he went to the city of Pāvā and there died", it is like a doublet of Gosāla's end. But to conclude from this passage that Pāvā was near Nālanda or Rājagrīha is, considering the other indications, quite inadmissible.<sup>140</sup> Finally according to some passages in Jain-works there shall exist a Pāvā in the Bhamgi-country or Gambhi-territory;<sup>141</sup> from other sources nothing is known about such a town.

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rajjusabhā, while he otherwise—as Buddha-atayed out of the city in caityas.

137 J. Charpentier, *l. c.* p. 128.

138 *Uvās. transl.* App. p. 6 (from the *Bhagavatī* p. 1750 a).

139 J. Charpentier, *l. c.* p. 128.

140 Pāvā has been placed by H. T. Cole-brooke, *Miscellaneous Essays* (ed. by E. D. Cowell, London 1873) II, p. 193, n. 2. Near Rājagrīha, in Bibār. Cf. Fr. Koeppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, Berlin 1906, I, p. 114 f., n. 3.

141 In Nemicandra's *Pravacanas*. (Weber, *Verzeichnis* No. 1939, p. 854 f.) Pāvā is located in the Bhamgi-country; cf. A. Weber, *Ind. stud.* XVI, d. 398 and n. 3; *Verzeichnis II*, 2, No. 1837, p. 562.

If Pāvā has been a town in the Malla-territory, then Hastipāla was a Malla-knight, a rājā in the sense of Suddhodana, Siddhārtha etc.

The foregoing remarks have shown how abundant the material is, met with in Jain-works as well as in Buddhist literature and how the combination of both is able to elucidate some problem of geography, but also problems of general interest.

In *Suttanip.* (1011-1013) is found a short list of towns: Sāketa, Sāvatthi, Kapilavatthu, Kusinārā, Pāvā, Bhoganagara. For the age of our list it seems probable to assume a higher one; an argument for this view is already the coincidence of the Jinist and Buddhist writings, in which latter the oldest parts of the canon offer indication. An argumentum ex silentio - of course with all its weakness - is the missing of some of the towns in works of later times, like the Purāṇas or the kośas (*Hemac. Abhidh.* 973-980; *Halāy Abhidh.* II, 132; *Mahāvyutpatti* 193).

### III. MAGISTRATES.

#### 1. State-officials.

In *Aup.* § 38 we read that the inhabitants of Cāmpā are in excitement: Mahāvīrā is coming in the Pūrnabhadra-caitya and the people want to worship the Saint. There wander the whole people, but also the high-class of the residence to the place. A fuller list of the official persons is found in *Aup.* § 15, while *Aup.* § 48 shows a greater number, but never so a large one as § 15. This list occurs again in *Kalpas.* II. 61. (Cf. the synopsis).

*Aup. § 15*

- 1 gaṇanāyaga
- 2 daṇḍanāyaga
- 3 rāisara
- 4 talavara
- 5 mādambiya
- 6 koḍumbiya
- 7 mantī
- 8 mahāmantī
- 9 gaṇaya
- 10 dōvāriya
- 11 amacca
- 12 ceda
- 13 pīḍhamadda
- 14 nagara- }  
15 nigama } setṭhi
- 16 seṇāvai
- 17 satthavāha
- 18 dūya
- 19 sandhivāla

*Aup. § 38*

- 1 bhāda
- 2 johā
- 3 pasatthar
- 4 rāisara
- 5 talavara
- 6 koḍumbiya
- 7 mādambiya
- 8 setṭhi
- 9 seṇāvai
- 10 satthavāha

*Aup. § 23*

- 1 bhāda
- 2 johā
- 3 seṇāvai
- 4 pasatthar

*Aup. § 48*

- 1 gaṇanāyaga
- 2 daṇḍanāyaga
- 3 rāisara
- 4 talavara
- 5 mādambiya
- 6 koḍumbiya
- 7 setṭhi
- 8 seṇāvai
- 9 satthavāha
- 10 dūya
- 11 sandhivāla

*Kalpas. II. § 61*

- 1 gaṇanāyaga
- 2 daṇḍanāyaga
- 3 rāisara
- 4 talavara
- 5 mādambiya
- 6 koḍumbiya
- 7 mantī
- 8 mahāmantī
- 9 gaṇaya
- 10 devāriya
- 11 amacca
- 12 ceda
- 13 pīḍhamadda
- 14 nagara- }  
15 nigama- } setṭhi
- 16 seṇāvai
- 17 satthavāha
- 18 dūya
- 19 samdhīpāla

To consider first the passage *Aup.* § 38 the names rājanya, kṣatriya and brāhmaṇa offer no interest; there may be discussed those terms which are missing in the other lists.

bhadā. The bhadā, bhata in Skt., is a kind of soldier; the nextstanding yodha (johā) makes it probable that he was of a higher degree. In the dramatic works by Bhāsa the bhata, often occurring, has the employment to bring reports to the king and officials and from them. There is little doubt that the word is a Prākritism of Skt. bṛita; the meaning may be "sergeant."<sup>142</sup>

i. v. p. 136: dharmasāstrapāthaka. It is very doubtful what a scholar in law-books had to do in the neighbourhood of soldiers. In *Aup* § 23 occur bhadā johā senāvai pasatthāro (भद्र जोहा सेणावद्दे पसत्थारो); that here so peaceful a man like a dharmasāstra-scholar could be meant is impossible, the context compels rather to the explanation of the word as a military term. Indeed, the prasāstr of the *Kauṭ. Arthas.* is the commander-in-chief of the technical body of an army.<sup>143</sup>

The following names of knights: Mallas, Licchavis and Licchaviputras would deserve a historical digression, which, however, restricted only to this passage, would be valueless. Therefore with the terms are attached which are found in the fuller list.

<sup>142</sup> In the *Desināmamālā* 289 the word goho "man" is explained by bhata; cf. J. Charpentier, *Indoo germanische Forschungen* XXIX (1911-1912) p. 380 f.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. *SWA* 191, 5 p. 157 f.

1. *gaṇanāyaga* is Skt. *gaṇanāyaka*, the "leader of a *gana*". Few terms are so ambiguous like *gana*; the different meanings are discussed by R. Mookerji and R. Ch. Majumdar.<sup>144</sup> The Comm. on *Kalpas* II. 61 explains *prakṛtimahattarā*, an insignificant expression, the higher officials of the people, or, if *prakṛti* means here one of the fundamental elements of the government, the higher officials of the *amātya-prakṛti*. But such an explanation is hardly correct, because the special resorts of the government are represented by individual persons as *dandanāyaga*, *mahāmanti*, *amacca* and others. The common meaning of *gana*, "corporation," in any sense, political, mercantile, seems also to be less plausible, in consequence of the titles, enumerated in the list. And in the same way there must be rejected an explanation of *gana* in the sense of a religious community.<sup>145</sup> *Gana* has originally the meaning of attendants, *gaṇanāyaka* could be therefore the leader of the attendants; but that is proved for the attendants of a deity (cf. P. W. s. v.) and not for those of a king. In Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (XV, 15) *gaṇanāyaka* occurs, but also here the meaning is doubtful; if the foregoing *śauryasametā* can be attached to the substantive, then the *gaṇanāyaka* would mean the leader of a military corps. The P. W.<sup>146</sup> cites the meaning of a tactic part of an

<sup>144</sup> *Local Government*, p. 31, 34 f; and *passim*; *Corporate Life* p. 230 ff., cf. the Index s. v.

<sup>145</sup> Nearly all the meanings of *gana* occur in Kulluka's Comm. on *Munu*; cf. I, 118; III, 164; IV, 209, 219.

<sup>146</sup> s. v. *gana* 4., cf. E. W. Hopkins, *JAOS* XIII, p. 196 f.

army, consisting of 3 gulmas with 27 chariots and elephants, 81 horses and 135 footmen. But an objection cannot be suppressed: that such a comparatively low officer should rank before others, evidently higher officers? But with these remarks the possibilities of an explanation of gana are not yet exhausted. *Kalpas*. (II. 128) speaks from the *nava Mallai nava Lēchchāi Kāsi-Kosalagā atthārasa vi gaṇa-rāyāṇo* (नव मल्लै नव लेच्छाई कासीकोसलगा अद्भुतस वि गणरायाणे) and the Comm. says, that these knights formed a *gaṇa: gaṇam melakam<sup>147</sup> kurvantiti gaṇarājāṇo... Cetakamahārājasya sāmantah śrūyan-* te te. (गणं मेलकं कुर्वन्तीति गणराजनो... चेटकमहाराजस्य सामन्ताः श्रूयन्ते ते). Here *gaṇa* means also a corporation, but in political sense, the vassals of king *Cetaka*. In our passage, however, this meaning is unlikely because *gaṇarājas* were eighteen in number, while in *Aup* (15), and *Kalpas*, (II. 61) are mentioned *aneka* (many) *gaṇanāyakas*. Therefore it remains the most plausible explanation to take *gaṇanāyaka* as military title "commander of a *gaṇa*".<sup>148</sup>

147 Of *mēlapaka* in *Pañcatanīra*, ed. Kielhorn-Bühler (6th ed.) Part III, p. 48, 18. For the political meaning of *gana* cf. R. Ch. Majumdar, *J. c. P. t.* 223, §3 and H. K. Deb, *ZII I* (1922), p. 289 f.

148 An official bears the title *ganapaka* in inscription (*Report Arch. Survey W. India IV*, 1883, No 12, p. 103 f., cf. p. 104, n. 2); but E. Senart (*Ep. Ind. VIII*, p. 89) prefers to translate "accountant". Perhaps *gānapālaka* in *Kṣemendra's Samayamātrka VI*, is affiliated with the term *gaṇanāyaka*; next comes *gapas gapamukhya Mhbh. XII*, 107, 23, where the "gapas are surajanastoma" a multitude of heroic men, correspond to the śreni-soldiers of the Arthas, cf. H. K. Deb *J. c. P. 291; SWA 191, 5 p. 151 f.*

2. *dāṇḍanāyaga*, in Skt. *dāṇḍanāyaka*, is explained by the Comm. on *Kalpas.* (II. 61) with *tantrapāla*. *Rājyatana* is the government, like *rājyacintā*—the political administration.<sup>149</sup> In *Tantrākhy.* (6, 14) we have the quite adequate term *tantradhāra*. The real explantion of the term has to go another way, because such general renderings are only the expression of the Comm.'s ignorance. *Dāṇḍam nī* or *pranī*, from which phrase *dāṇḍanāyaka* is derived, is the duty of the king, viz. to punish and therewith to exercise his power *Manu* (VII, 14 ff.); an exponent of this power is the judge, the head of a village or other substitutes of the king. But, as remarked above, the meaning of *dāṇḍanāyaka* here is hardly that of a police-master,<sup>150</sup> because we will meet a term to which must be attributed this sense.

149 Cf. Th. Zachariae, *Beiträge zur indischen Lexikographie*, Berlin 1883, p. 44 f.; A. Hillebrandt, *Ueber das Kauṭiliyaśāstra*, Breslau 1908 (sep.) p. 18.

150 *Hitopadeśa* (ed. Peterson) II, p. 71, 1, 6, 13 ff. occurs the *dāṇḍanāyaka* of a *grāma*. A policeman or police-master is the *dāṇḍapāśika* in the *Śnkasaptati* (ed. R. Schmidt *AKM* X, 1, p. 139, 12); *Kathākośa* (transl. by C. H. Tawney) p. XXIII, n. \* Similar expressions for this office are *dāṇḍādhipatyā* in *Kṣemendra's Brhatkathāmañjarī* I, 186 or *dāṇḍavāsika* *ibid.* I, 3, 83, 95, 138, 185; another title is said to be *cāṇḍapāśika* in *Vādirājasūri's Yasodharacarita* (Joh. Hertel, *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Konigl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Bd. 69, 4. Heft, 1917-p. 91, n. 3). In the Gupta period we find a *dāṇḍapā-*

The P. W. S. v. dāñdanāyaka cites already, *Hemac. Abhidh.* (725); *Varāham. Brhats.* (LXIII, 4) mention this term by the side of senāpati, and in *Kalhana's Rājatar.* the word is found on several places.<sup>151</sup> In the *Jñātādharmasūtrapāṭha*<sup>152</sup> occur a dāñdanāyaka and a senānāyaka. We meet it on a coin identified with those of Devaraya from Vijayanagara (15. cent A. D.); in Kanarese it is spelt dāñayaka<sup>153</sup> in the form dāñayakaru. Dāñdanāyaka was also the title of the Hoysala chiefs. Ep. Ind VII, App. p. 68 ff., No 383 ff.); in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (186, 15 f.) are enumerated dāndamukhya, dāñdanāyaka and (186, 17) senāpati. In the *Kauṭ. Arthas.*<sup>154</sup> the officer bears the title nāyaka as in Kāmāndaki's *Nitisāra* (XIX, 45); *Varāham. Brhats.* (XXXV, 7) etc. (cf. P. W. S. v.). About the military character of this officer there cannot exist a doubt; his degree is evidently a high one; he is in the list apparently the first military functionary. From the sources,

sādhikarāṇa "the chief of police" (J. Allan, Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, London 1914, p. XLI).

151 The term mahādāñdanāyaka we meet on clay seals, belonging circa to the 3.-5- cent. A. D.; cf. J. H. Marshall, JRAS 1911, p. 136, 139. J. Allan l. c. p. XLI gives "judge"; that is in no way convincing, because the balādhikarāṇa seems to be more an administrative official so that there would be missing the leading chief of the military forces.

152 A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of Calcutta Skt. College, vol. X. (1909), No 82, p. 165.

153. Ind. Ant. XX, (1891), p. 304 and n. 7.

154. SWA 191, 5 p. 156-158.

cited in P. W. and above, the deduction is permitted that the title is not of high age.<sup>155</sup>

3. rāīsara, corresponding to a Skt. rājeśvara, caused already to the Comm. difficulties. The *Kalpas.*—Comm. explains, separating the compound : rājāno māṇḍalikāḥ, īśvarā yuvarājāḥ, anīmādyaiśvaryayuktā ityanye<sup>156</sup> (राजानो माण्डलिकाः, ईश्वरा युवराजाः, अणीमाद्यैश्वर्ययुक्ता इत्यन्ये ।). The literal sense of the word, taken as a compound, would be “lord of kings”; that is here impossible, because the king, surrounded by these rāīsaras and other personalities, is himself the lord of kings. Therefore the separating of the two parts of the compound is the single possible way of interpretation. Māṇḍalika is quite intelligible: it is a king, who belongs to the mandala, the political circle consisting of the neighbouring kings.<sup>157</sup> The word māṇḍalika is found four times in *Varāham. Brhats.* (IV, 15; XLVI, 11; XLVIII, 47; LXIX, 23); *Kathāsarīts.* (XCVIII, 5); *Kāmand. Nītis* (VIII, 54) explained by : svamanḍalādhipatīn rājñāḥ (स्वमण्डलाधिपतीन् राज्ञः ।). *Mahāvyutpatti* has by the side of yuvarāja (186, 4) manḍalikarāja. Less simple is the explanation of īsara (īśvara). The Comm. says yuvarāja, but other authorities take it as “lords trusted with the lordship over a amall territory (anīmādi?).” īsvara is found in a Nāsik-cave-inscription of Vāsithīputa Siri Pulumāyi *Ep. Ind.* (VIII, p. 60., l. 11), but the interpretation of “lord” (p. 62) for the grandson

155 The references in the Epic are generally worthless in this connexion.

156 The Comm. on *Aup.* has matāṁtareṇāpi°

157 Cf. N. N. Law, *Ind. Ant.* XLIX (1920), p. 121-136; 145-152; 167-173.

offers no further elucidation than that *īśvara* must have been a high degree, perhaps a governor, in the official-career, and occupied by relatives.

4. *talavara*. *īsara*, *talavara* and some of the following terms occur again in the *Jñātādharmakathās*<sup>158</sup> in the *Jambudvīpaprajñapti-sūtra*<sup>159</sup>. *talavara* is found in many works, not even belonging to the Siddhānta, but for the most part to the profane Jinist literature. In a Ms. (it seems of recent date) of Hūla's *Sattasai*<sup>160</sup> we meet the word *talāraputta*; *talāra* in the *Sukasaptati*<sup>161</sup>, *talārika* in the *Kathākosa*<sup>162</sup>. *Hemacandra Arhanniti* (p. 14, verse 75; p. 198, verse 6) knows the word *talārakṣa* like the *Campakasresthikathānaka*<sup>163</sup> (74). While the Comm. on *Kalpas*, explains: *parituṣṭa-narapatipradattapatti-bandhavibhūṣitā rājasthāniyāḥ* (परितुष्टा-नरपतिप्रदत्तपट्टव्यविभूषिता राजस्थानीयः) king's substitutes which are adorned with head-bands bestowed upon them by the king who is well minded to them. The Scholion on *Jambudvīpapr.* (fol. 98 b Weber l. c. p. 581, n. 3) says quite similar: *talavarah samtuṣṭanaraptipradattasauvarṇapatti-talamkṛtaśiraskah* (तलवरः

158 A. Weber, *Verzeichnis No 1792*, p. 471; cf. *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 313.

159 A. Weber, *Verzeichnis No 1844*, p. 581.

160 In the Ms. Rm. it means perhaps the Skt. paraphrase; *AKM VII*, 4, p. 13, Verse 30.

161 ed. R. Schmidt, *AKM X* (1897), p. X, 104, 6,

162 Transl. by C. H. Tawney, p. XXIII, n. \*

163 *ZDMG LXV* (1911), p. 28; further references are cited by the editor and translator of the text, Joh. Hertel, *ibid.* p. 46 and 464, n. 6.

संतुष्टनरपतिप्रदत्तसौवर्णपट्टालङ्कृतशिरस्कः). The profane works, on the contrary, admit no doubt that the talārakṣa was either the head of the police in a town or village, or an ordinary watchman; also the talayāris of the 16. cent. in the Naik-kingdom (*Ind. Ant.* XLIV [1915], p. 72. f.) or of the 18. cent. (*ibid.* XLIX [1920], p. 36) have the latter meaning. From lexicographical literature the word talavara is cited in the form talavāri or taravāri (*Hemac. Abhidh.* 782); according to the P. W. s. v. and A. Weber<sup>164</sup> the Skt. karabālikā should be derived from tarabālikā, and appears in an etymologised form as karapāla etc., all these words, however, have the meaning "sword." For the last statements the view held by Weber seems to go too far, because *Hemac. Abhidh.* (792) knows karabāla and taravāri, (785) karabālikā, so that there must have existed some differences. R. Pischel<sup>165</sup> explained the word talāra as a derivation from Marāṭhī talvār = "Skt. talavāra, tala = "ground," in Marāṭhī also the "place of encampment" or a "camp" and a "tract of ground"; vāra from the root var = "guardian, watchman." This etymology seems to be hardly correct, because in Gujarati taravāra is feminine and means "sword," what would be impossible, when the original Skt.-word would be tala-vāra. One fact is undeniable: that talavara is not an Indian, or better, not an Āryan word; for the Scholion on *Hemac. Abhidh.* (795) says already: turuśkāyudh-

<sup>164</sup> *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 38 f.

<sup>165</sup> *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* hg. von A. Bozzenberger, III (1879), p. 261.

am karabālikā, tarabāliketyanye (तुरफ्कायुधं करवालिका तरवालिकेत्यन्ये ।). Weber referred (*l. c. p. 39*) to the Persian tarwāl; to accept his semasiological explanation, is too much for the standpoint of a grammarian, because this word has only the meaning "a blade of green," but, on the other hand, the Scholiast would never have referred to the foreign (Turkish) origin of the word, if it would not correspond to the views of his own time. The word talavara has certainly a long history in vernacular speeches as in Pkt and Skt.<sup>165</sup>

None of the works, in which the form taravāri occurs, can be assigned to a certain time; but karavāla and forms like this must be attributed to later times, because the assumed reception and the process of etymologising needs some time; Dhanapāla seems to be the oldest proof for this term.

5. mādambiya. The term, coming next in the list, corresponds to a Skt. mādambika; the character of this official is clear inasmuch as he must be the head of one or of a number of madambas. The Comm. on *Kalpas.* says: māndali-

<sup>166</sup> Besides the references in the P. W. the kofas know one or the other form of the word: Dhanapāla 37; karavāla; *Hemac.* *Uṇādigānasūtra* 480 Comm.: karavāla; *Halayudha Abhidh.* II, 317; kurabāla; Amarakośa II, 8, 57: karapāla; 59: karapālikā (v. l.: karabālikā); *Viajaya.* 117, 324: taravāri; *Mahāvyutpatti.* 186, 59: kāravālika.— I am not sure, whether Taravara on the seals, mentioned by Allan, *l. c.* is a proper name or the title of an official. Read: mādambikās.

and of the same tenor runs the explanation of the *Aup.-Comm.* There is today no place for Bühlér's suggestion to bring the word in connexion with maṇḍapa-maṇḍapikā or the modern māṇḍavī for whose occurrence, see *Ep. Ind.* (I, p. 101, 117, 166, 270), since the correction by Leumann (*ibid.* II, p. 484 f., cf 485). A conclusion about the degree of a māḍambika is not possible; he stands, indeed, between the ratṭhika (*rāṣṭrika*<sup>168</sup>) and desādhikāta (*desādhikṛta*), what would speak for the rank of a governor of a middle-sized territory. But it must be remarked that the amaccas (*amātya*) rank between herdsmen and guards, so that the order in the list gives no hold for the determination of the rank. Nevertheless the term māḍambika belongs hardly to a high age, though only the record of the eight cent. A. D. can be adduced.

6. *kodumbiya*, in Skt. *kauṭumbika*, is explained by the Comm. on *Kalpas.*: *kauṭumbikāḥ katipayakuṭumbaprabhavovalagakāḥ, grāmamahattarā vā कौटुम्बिकाः कतिपयकुटुम्बप्रभवोवलगकाः, ग्राममहत्तरा वा ॥*). There is no doubt that the term cannot be the ordinary husbandman in a list of functionaries of a pronounced official character. The term is known by an inscription of Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Puṭumāyi (Lüders' *List* No 1147); the opinion<sup>169</sup> has been expressed "that the middle

168 Cf. *Ind. Ant.* XLIII (1919), p. 80, n. 4.

169 By D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.* XLVIII (1919), p. 80.—None or little stress can be laid on *kodumbiya*, which is said to be the younger form of the older *kodambiya*. Cf. A. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XVII, p. 26, n. 1.

class, which consisted chiefly of cultivators and mercantile people, was split up into a number of gṛihās, i. e. homesteads, or kuṭumbas or kulas, i. e. families, the head of each one of which was considered to be so important a personage as to require to be designated Gṛihapati or Kuṭumbin." This view can be hardly accepted in general, and still less in particular here. There is nothing surprising that a kuṭumbika, Dhanama with name, has excavated a cave; it is rather very common, from the standpoint of epigraphy, that a founder or giver of pious investments or gifts immortalizes his name and, for distinction, denounces his profession. The special argument against the view held by Bhandarkar is the list itself, in which officials occur. Therefore an explanation of the rare word avalagaka must be attempted.

Avalagaka is found in an inscription from Dudhpāni (in the Hazāribāgh District, Bengal) which must on palaeographical reasons be assigned to about the eighth cent. A. D. In line 6 f. the reader is informed that the king of Magadha, Ādisimha, came once for hunting elephants, as it seems, in the aṭavi, in the forest. He assembled the people of the third part of the palli and ordered "Give, you, me, today an avalagaka, quickly!" At this time three brothers, merchants with great property, spent (?) in this palli. The people asked the oldest of them for an avalagana for the king; he sent it and became in consequence of it a favourite of the king and after other honours he became the rāja

of the pallī Bhramaraśālmali.<sup>170</sup> The suggestion is probable that a king or knight, when he comes in a distant part of his dominion and asks the people for anything in the words: "give me it quickly," can ask in this manner only for a tax. This view is further supported by the consideration that the people, poor as it may have been, went to the merchants, about the wealth of which it has heard, and asked the oldest for an avalagana; through avalagana he reached his position. A merchant has merchandise and money; the king asked for a certain thing; that can be only money, because merchandise is not the property of a pallī, which can be sent quickly. Avalagana is found in *Tantrākhy.* p 18, 2;<sup>171</sup> *Hemac. Parisistaparvan* (VIII,12); the corresponding passage in *Pañootantra* (sixth edition by Kielhorn-Bühler I, p. 28) shows that a person, to win the confidence of another person, honours the second in each manner. Translated in the relation between a king and his subjects it means to give present to the first. Such presents are known from peoples of the ancient world as from Indian literature. Though H. Zimmer'svi ew<sup>172</sup> about bali, a voluntary tribute to the king, has

170 The further events are not of interest here.

171 Hertel refers to Munisundara, *Upadeśaratnākara* (v. the Glossary in his *Tantrākhyāyika*-edition s. v. p. 170).

172 *Altindisches Leben* p. 166.- For analogies in Babylonia cf. B. Meissner *Babylonien und Assyrien* (*Kulturgeschichtliche Bibliothek I, 3,*) Heidelberg 1920 p. 143.

been rejected by Keith-Macdonell,<sup>173</sup> the existence of voluntary offerings for later times cannot be denied. Besides with references in the Epic<sup>174</sup> may be compared an epigraphical testimony from Rudradāman's inscription<sup>175</sup> and the *Dharmasūstra*.<sup>176</sup>

So we are entitled to translate *avalagana* "love-tax" and *avalagaka-n.* is evidently the same, while the masculine is the donor-an *avalagana* ('ka'). Kauṭumbika would be therefore the representatives of the middle-class, which had the duty to present to the king voluntary presents, taxes.

7. *mantrin* and 8. *mahāmantrin*, the Skt.-equivalents of *manti* and *mahāmanti*, are explained by the Comm.: *mantriṇah sacivāḥ*, resp. *mahāmantriṇo mahāmātyā mantrimaṇḍalapradhānū hastisādhanādhyakṣā vā* (मन्त्रिणः सचिवाः, महामन्त्रिणो महा-मात्या मन्त्रिमण्डलप्रधाना हस्तिसाधनाद्यक्षा वा ॥). The first explanation, that of *mantrin* with *saciva*, is nothing but a superficial tautology,<sup>177</sup> because in Indian literature there is never drawn a strict difference between *saciva*, *mantrin* and *amātya*. The best proof for

173 *Vedic Index II*, p. 62 s. v. *bali*. W. Foy, *Die königliche Gewalt nach den altindischen Rechtsbüchern*, Leipzig 1895, p. 38. Cf. also the Comm. on *Arthaś.* 93, 17 in I. J. Sorabji's Notes p. 39.

174 E. W. Hopkins, *JAOS XIII*, p. 91.

175 J. F. Fleet, *JRAS* 1909, p. 761 f.

176 W. Foy, *l. c.* p. 52.

177 Perhaps *saciva* is used here in the sense of *buddhisaciva*, the antitheses to *karmasaciva* as in *Kāmand. Nitis.* Comm. IV, 80; cf. Rudradāman's inscription 1. 17: *matisaciva* and *karmasaciva*. *SWA* 191, 5 p. 176 ff.

this statement is the explanation of mahāmantrin with mahāmātya, while amātya occurs itself in the list. The mantrin is the councillor of the king; the number of these councillors is variable. Mahāmantrin may be either the president of the mantrins<sup>178</sup> or only a higher degree of a mantrin. But never he can be understood as the official who trains the king's elephants; the statement of the Comm. is due to a confusion of mahāmantrin and mahāmātra.<sup>179</sup> The mahāmantrin may correspond to the mukhyamantrin, occurring also in the *Rājatar*.<sup>180</sup>

9 gaṇaya = Skt. gaṇaka; according to the *Kalpas*-Comm., who says: gaṇakā jyotiṣikā bhāṇḍāgārikā vā (गणका ज्योतिषिका भाण्डागारिका वा ।), the gaṇaka is an astrologer or the official of the king's store-house. The latter explanation is inaccurate, because generally the term means an accountant. So Somadevasūri in his *Nītivākyāmrta* (printed Bombay, Grantharatnamālā p. 56, 1. 1) explains the spy in the disguise of a gaṇaka as follows: saṅkhyāviddaivajño vā (संख्याविदैवज्ञो वा ।). The gaṇaka is known to the *Yajurveda*<sup>181</sup> in the sense of "astrologer". It is more likely that an astrologer appears in the list of officials

178 Perhaps the mantripariṣadadhikṣa of the *Arthaś.*, for which view the first explanation of the *Kalpas*-Comm. can be adduced.

179 Cf. *SWA I. c.* p. 191 f.

180 Cf. J. Jolly, *Gurupūjākaumudī* p. 85.-The title mahāmantrin is found in a Ms. of *Jñātādharmaśūtrapāṭha* (*Catalogue of the Skt. College Calcutta*, X, p. 165, No. 82).

181 Cf. Keith-Macdonell, *Vedic Index s. v. I*, p. 218.

and notabilities than an accountant. On the other hand the king's astrologers are known under the names kārtāntika, naimittika and mauhūrtika.<sup>182</sup>

10 dovāriya, dauvārika in Skt., is explained by the *Aup.-Comm.*: pratihārā rājadvārikā vā (प्रतिहारा राजद्वारिका वा ।). In the *Jātakas* the rank which is occupied by the devārika seems to be low;<sup>183</sup> but it is difficult to say, whether there are not meant subjects of the dauvārika, strictly speaking. At least the position of the dauvārika in the *Arthas*<sup>184</sup> is such a high one that quite changed circumstances or a long development have to be assumed, for he is a member of the tīrthas, therewith one of the highest functionaries of the government. An epigraphical proof for this term dauvārika seems to be unknown; in the *Rājatar.* (V, 28) he occurs more exceptionally; the common designation is pratihāra, also mahā-pratihāra, both mentioned in inscriptions.<sup>185</sup>

11 amacca, Skt. amātya, is so common a word that all the kinds of councillors and officials bear it in the literature. But as shown elsewhere<sup>186</sup> amātya is not the designation for the functionary of a certain board, rather that of a class, sc. of the highest officials, the ministry of the middle

182 SWA 191, 5 p. 288 f. The bhāpādāgārika, though the gaṇaka is not identified with him, is found in an inscription of Jayacandra of Kanauj (1187 A. D.), s. Ind. Ant. XV (1886), p. 1. 15 a rājabhāndāgārādhikarana occurs on clay-seals, s. J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties* p. XLI.

183 R. Fick, *Die sociale Gliederung* p. 102.

184 SWA l. c. p. 77.

185 J. Jolly, *Gurupūjāk.* p. 85.

186 SWA l. c. p. 184.

age. The Comm. says therefore correctly : rājyādhiṣṭhāyikāḥ, "which have the care for administration of the kingdom." Therefore also here the amaccas must be understood as the highest officials of the different departments.

12 ceda The Comm. on *Kalpas* (II.) explains this word as follows : cetāḥ pādamūlikā dāsā vā (चेदा: पादमूलिका दासा वा ।). Pādamūlika means probably a valet; but also with this assumption it is at least remarkable that a servant, may he be as familiar to the person of the king as possible or an ordinary slave, ranks in the list before the setthīs and senāvais etc. No less remarkable is the following term.

13 pīḍhamadda, is the pīṭhamarda of the poetical works.<sup>187</sup> This person is not found in the dramatical literature; should his existence be ascribed only to the theoretical literature of Indian drama? The Comm. on *Kalpas*. explains : pīṭhamardā āsthāne (!) āsanasevakā vayasyā ityarthaḥ, vesyācāryā vā (पीठमर्दा आस्थाने (!) आसनसेवका वयसा इत्यर्थः, वेश्याचार्या वा ॥); the Comm. on *Aup.* has : viṭāḥ<sup>188</sup> pādamūlikāḥ pīṭhamardāḥ āsthāne...ityarthah (विटा: पादमूलिकाः पीठमर्दाः आस्थाने...इत्यर्थः ॥). This explanation seems to have been taken from the conception of a pīṭha, bank, seat in the audience-hall of the king; the second, that of a vesyācārya, is borrowed from the poetical literature.<sup>189</sup> Here the pīṭhamarda is

187 Cf. Sten Konow, *Das indische Drama* (Grundriss II, 2 D), p. 14.

188 Should viṭā be another reading for cetā?

189 Cf. R. Schmidt, *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*, 2. (ed., Berlin 1911, p. 142, 144) where the texts are collected.

described as the companion of the nāyaka, but only as the reconciliator of angry women;<sup>190</sup> Vātsyāyaṇa states in *Kāmasūtra* (p. 57 f.,) that he is a teacher, but by mere of the nāyaka; because he is well-versed in the arts of the gaṇikās Kṣemendra describes in the *Samayamātrikā* (I, 8) the nāpita as a gaṇikāguru and kāmiṇām narmasuhṛd<sup>191</sup> ( कामिणी नर्मसुहृद् ।); in *Arthas.* (125, 13 ff.) seem to have existed special schools for teaching the gaṇikās in their 64 kalās or arts. But in *Hemac. Abhidh.* (330) we find veśyācāryah pīṭhamardah ( वेश्याचार्यः पीठमर्दः ) like in the *Vaijayanti* (141, 139), differing from *Anekārthas.* (IV, 143); perhaps from this source the Comm. has borrowed his science.

Unable to explain the occurrence of the ceta and pīṭhamarda in this list there the assumption is possible, either that these terms are taken from the poetical literature<sup>192</sup> or that these two persons really existed. If the latter assumption is correct, then they must have had a high degree and cannot be understood as ordinary servants. King Virāṭa has in his palace rathins, pīṭhamardas, hastyārohas and naigamas. Nīlakanṭha explains pīṭhamarda here with rājapriyah, but cites then the *Medinikosa* with the common explanation.

14 nagara-, 15 nigama-setṭhi. The Comm. on *Kalpas.* (II.) takes in his explanation

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid* No. 7, 9, 10.

<sup>191</sup> This is, indeed, the office of the pīṭhamarda on the side of the nāyaka.

<sup>192</sup> Cf. the reading of the *Aup.-Comm.* and n. 188 (above).

of these three words each for an independent term, as follows: nāgarā nagaravāsiprakṛtayo rājadeyavibhāgāḥ; nigamāḥ kāraṇikā vanijo vā, śreṣṭhināḥ śrīdevatādhyāśitasauvaraṇapāṭṭabhiḥśito-ttamaṅgāḥ (नागरा नगरवासिप्रकृतयो राजदेयविभागाः; निगमाः कारणिका वणिजो वा; श्रेष्ठिनः श्रीदेवताध्यासितसौवर्णपट्टभूषितोत्तमाङ्गाः ॥). Apart from the real interpretation there exists a grammatical doubt in adopting the view held by the Comm. Pkt. *nagara* shall be here *Kalpas.* (II. 61) a Skt. nāgara, a vrddhi-form of *nagara*. The latter must be exactly ṇaara or, with yaśruti, ṇayara or *nayara*.<sup>193</sup> In *Kalpas.* (II. 89) stands *nagara-tthānaesu-nagarastāneṣu*, therefore a Pkt. *nagara* represents in this text a Skt. *nagara*; and the Comm. himself has attempted an etymology of *nagara* in *Kalpas.* 89 (cf. n. 4). Nigama, as also shown before does never mean a "trader," rather "trader's place," "town," or "traders' body;" here the last meaning is impossible. The juxtaposition of *nagara* and *nigama* is the best proof that both stand on the same step as the parts of a tatpuruṣa-compound, whose base-ward is setṭhi. The same formation in *nagaraguttiya* in *Aup.* (§45 f.); therefore *nagara* in *Kalpas* (61) can also be only Skt. *nagara*. Then we have to interpret "the śreṣṭhins of *nagaras* (towns) and *nigamas* (traders' places)."

The guild has been in the past time a favourite theme of Indian scholars, though already some years before R. Fick,<sup>194</sup> E. W. Hopkins<sup>195</sup>

193 Cf. *Kalpas.* II. 15, n. 3; 122, n. 3; R. Pischel, *Prākrit Grammatik* § 187; for ṇaara § 186; for *nagara* § 256, 366 a.

194 *Die sociale Gliederung* p. 172 ff.

195 *Yale Review* 1898, p. 24 ff. = *India Old and New*, New York 1902, p. 169 ff.

and Mrs. A. C. F. Rhys Davids<sup>196</sup> have furnished valuable contributions. Here only the position of the setthi is of interest; he has to be taken as the representative of the tradership in the nagara and nigama, whereby the question may be put aside, whether he was identical with the headman of the guild, though it may have been generally the case. Namely the title setthi has been attributed to a certain class of rich merchants, also to whole families.<sup>197</sup> The nagara-śresthin has till to-day his descendant in the modern Nagar-Sheth,<sup>198</sup> "a title of honour given to the head-man of the city." And the nigama-śresthin can also be tested by an epigraphical record (Lüders' *List No 1261*), where a sethipamukha of the pious nigama is mentioned; he was probably the representative of the setthi's in the nigama.<sup>199</sup> Conforming to these relations also today exists "a distinction

196 *JRAS* 1901, p. 865 ff.

197 Cf. R. Fick, *l. c.* p. 167 f., n. 1. In *Aup.* § 38 and 48 the text reads ibbha (ibhya, rich) for nagaranigama.

198 E. W. Hopkins, *l. c.* p. 32 f. (=p. 179 f.). The same scholar remarks (p. 32, resp. p. 179) that also Nagar-Sheth is a title applied to wealthy traders, "but properly it is bestowed upon a prominent civilian who may or may not be a merchant."

199 E. Hultzsch gives *ZDMG* XXXVII (1883), p. 557, No. 29 the following translation of this Amarāvatī inscription: "The pure gift of Chadakica, of the head of the merchants, of the pious trader." *Ibid* XL (1886), p. 344, No. 29: "A sūoi, the gift of Chadakica, the head of the merchants, of the pious townsmen". Nigama is never a merchant; bhadanigama is the pious nigama, because another inscription, as noted already

between the village-guild and the guild of a large town;<sup>200</sup> without doubt the *nagaraśreṣṭhin*<sup>201</sup> had a higher degree than his colleague of the *nigama*.

For these reasons the explanation of the Comm. must be rejected; interesting is that of the śreṣṭhin, if understood correctly: "the śreṣṭhins bear their heads adorned with golden head-bands, on which the goddess Śrī stays."

16 *senāvai*, Skt. *senāpati*, commonly translated by "general", is explained by the Comm.: *senāpatayo nṛpanirūpitāścaturaṅgasainyanāyakāḥ* (सेनापतयो नृपनिरूपिताश्चतुरङ्गसैन्यनायकाः ।). Though this rendering is generally correct, the fact that the *senāpati* is inserted between the śreṣṭhins and *sārthavāhas* (below 17), remains remarkable.<sup>202</sup> If there would not be found in all passages *senāvai*, without a various reading, the reading *senīvai-srenīpati* "guild-head" could be conjectured. Though *srenī* is rendered in Pkt. with *sedhi* (cf. R. Pischel, *Prakrit-Grammatik* §66, n. 1; *Aup.* §16, 33), Pischel is right in deriving *sedhi* from \**setṭhi* for *sitṭhi*-*śiṣṭi*; *srenī* has to be in Pkt. *senī* or *senī*, both of which forms appear in Pkt.-inscriptions (Lüders' *List* No 1162, 1165,

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by Hultsch, *l. c.* XXXVII, p. 557, in Lüders' *List* No. 1153, has *dhammanigama*. H. Kern (*Ind. Stud.* XIV, p. 395), interprets the expression "confessor of the Dharma," literally: "One for whom the Dharma is authoritative" ("Einer, für den der Dharma Autoritätsquelle ist").

200 Hopkins, *l. c.* p. 31, resp. p. 178.

201 Cf. Joh. Hertel, *Gesetze des Ostens* I (1914), p. 187.

202 If the *dandanāyaka* and *gaganāyaka* have been correctly interpreted, there are two officers; the separation of the *senāpati* from these is quite unintelligible.

1180),<sup>203</sup> and the cognomen of Bimbisāra was Seniya-Śrenīka e. g. *Uvās.* (VIII, § 231). On the other haad it is uncertain whether the term senīvai=śrenīpati in the meaning "head of a guild" is found elsewhere; certain is the absolute difference between the assumed sense here and the term śrenīmukha in the *Arthas.*

Adopting the reading senāpati this officer must be understood as one of a lower rank than the dandanāyaka mentioned above. While in the *Arthas.* senāpati means the general-in-chief, the word here cannot have the same meaning. For he would never be placed nearly at the end of the list; therefore it is probable that he was a general, the leader of one of the four aṅgas of the army.<sup>204</sup> In the *Mahāvyutpatti* (186, 16 f.) occur dandanāyaka, senāpati in a list beginning with the king and ending with a fisher. In *Aup.* (§ 23) senāvai stands before pasatthāro, indicating perhaps, because the foregoing soldiers are bhadā, jodhā, the lower degree; in inscriptions are found senāpati, mahāsenāpati.

17 satthavāha, in Skt. sārthavāha, explained by the Comm. with sārthanāyakāḥ, "the leaders of caravans," has to be understood as the designation of a certain class of merchants. In the *Jātakas* are found indications<sup>205</sup> justifying

203 Should therō exist some connexion between the nouns: set̄hi=śreshṭhin, and set̄hi=sedhi=śrenī? It means that sedhi is derived from śrenī, but a misunderstood analogous form to set̄hi, the "head of a śrenī."

204 There exists, it seems, a second kind of senāpati in the *Arthas.*, cf. *SWd* l. c. p. 160.

205 Cf. R. Pöck, *Die soc. Gliederung* p. 176-178; *SWA* l. c. p. 146.

the assumption that the satthavāhas were "whole-sale merchants," "exporting merchants," which are known also from the narrative literature. In Lüders' *List* (No 1062) the founder of a cave is styled as sathavāha and gahapati; a proof that the sārthavāhas were a class for themselves; here, in the list, the representative of this class is intelligible.

18 dūya, dūta in Skt.; the Comm. explains: dūtā anyeśām gatvā rājādeśavedakāḥ (दूता अन्येषां गत्वा राजादेशवेदकाः १). The Comm. on *Aup.* has deśanivedakāḥ. He is the ambassador, known from the Besnagar-inscription (*Lüders List.* No 669) as well as from the *Arthas.* Kāmandaki etc. In a condensed form in prose the *Nītivākyāmrta* in chapter 13 (pp. 50-53) informs about the duties of an ambassador, still shorter *Hemac. Arhannīti* (p. 19 f., V. 97-101).

19 sandhipāla, the last term of the list, is evidently minister of peace; he is explained by the Comm.: sandhipālā rājyasandhirakṣakāḥ. (सन्धिपाला राज्यसन्धिरक्षकाः १) This term is of special interest, because he, no doubt, is a title of a minister, and this title is not found elsewhere. From the *Rājatar.* and from inscriptions is the sāndhivigrāhaka or sāndhivigrāhika known, the minister of peace and war.

Considering this list no exact answer is possible on the question about the age of the terms. Though it would be of importance to

determine the age of one or another term, more stress has to be laid upon the whole impression, the accumulated personage which is a difference in comparison with the more simple conditions in the *Epic*, and *Jātakas*. Rather the conditions of the narrative literature can be drawn near, whereas the *Arthas* remains back for some terms. But, further, single titles speak for progressed times. Talarara can hardly be dated at least before the 7th or 8th cent. A. D., when the turnuṣka-origin of the word is correct. Titles like mahā-mantrin show a developed state of honours; noteworthy is also the occurrence of a term like māḍam-bika, found only in an inscription of not too removed time. Piṭhamarda, though used in the list evidently in another sense than in the poetical literature, seems to stand in some connexion with the latter, which is again of relatively recent date. Titles as daṇḍanāyaka, mahāmantrin, are not found in works of early date; the crowd of the personalities alone does not allow to assume a high age of the list. And the existence of the list itself in canonical work is an argument that we have to see in it an interpolation of times which can be supposed to be the 7th or 8th cent. A. D., if not higher numbers seem preferable.

## 2 COURTS-OFFICIALS.

The assumption, that the list of officials, treated above, would represent the whole staff of the civil and military officials in Jain-texts, would be wrong. There exists a set of courts-officials of the king and attendants of the queen, which are of historical and ethnological interest,

## 1 THE KING'S OFFICIALS.

1 In *Aup.* (§ 40) Ajātaśatru with the surname Kūṇika commands the balavāuya to get ready the army for the procession to Mahāvīra.

Balavāuya corresponds to a Skt. balavyāpr̄ta. This is, no doubt, a title; the officer has the duty to bring the commands of the king, as far as they touch (?) the army, to the specials, chiefs.<sup>206</sup>

2 So the balavyāpr̄ta passes on to the hatthivāuya, hastivyāpr̄ta in Skt., the overseer oversee of the king's elephants; after executing the order the hastivyāpr̄ta announces it to the balavāpr̄ta (§ 41).

3 In the same manner the balavyāpr̄ta brings the order of the king to the jāṇasāliya, i. e. yānaśālika, the official of the vehicles. He is not only the chief of the jāṇasāla = yānaśālā, but also of the vāhanasāla = vāhanaśālā. Yānas here mean the coaches of the queens, which are adorned; they are drawn by vāhanas, which again are decorated and are supplied in the vāhanaśālā with pratodayaṣṭis<sup>207</sup> and pratodadhārakas.<sup>208</sup> Vāhana here must be understood as bullocks, as the harnessing of elephants is described in § 41 and the Comm. also explains balīvardādayah.

After receiving the report of the nagaraguttiya, the nagaraguptika, the Campā is decor-

206 In modern paraphrase: the head of the military office of the king.

207 pratodayaṣṭi is the prickle-staff, *Divyāv.* 7, 5; 463, 10; in comparison; 76, 22; 465, 21.

208 Should that mean bins for the staffs? But in *Mhbh.* V, 155, 17 are mentioned aṅkuśadharau, dhanurdh̄arau, asidh̄arau.

ated, the *balavyāprta* announces it to the king (*Aup.* § 42-46).

4 From *Aup.* (§ 17) we get knowledge of the existence of another courts-official.

The *pauttivāuya*, in Skt. *pravṛtti-vyāprta*, reports to the king the advent of *Mahāvīra*. The ceremony of greeting the king is as follows: he touches with the inner handplain his head and makes the *añjali* with round-folded hands also on the head, then he wishes hail and victory. Ending his report he says: "that even delightful thing I announce to your Majesty, well, delightful may it be ! (§ 18)." The king offers in consequence of this delightful event presents to the *pravṛttiyāprta*: eight hundred thousand *karṣāpanas?* as a *pritudāna* (§ 20). This official is attached to a special employment for the king; he receives the whole livelihood (§ 13) and, as it seems, presents at the occasion of delightful reports; so (§ 39) the king gives to him 1,205,000 (*karṣāpanas?*). But the *pravṛttiyāprta* holds again many people, the *pavittivāyas*=*pravṛttiyāprtas*, which receive the maintenance (with cloths, lodging etc. perhaps), eating and wages (*bhati*=*bhṛti*; *bhatta*=*bhakta*; *vedaṇa*=*vetana*. § 13 f.) by him; it may be the same like between the *dauvārika*, the first door-keeper and member of the *tīrthas*, and his subjects, the ordinary *dauvārikas*; both the chief and the subordinated people, bear the same name.

This official and his subjects have to report the *devasiyā*=*daivasikī*, sc. *pravṛtti*; according to

the Comm. it means:<sup>209</sup> sa cāsau vivakṣitāmutra nagarādāvāgato viharati ca Bhagavān ityādikā daivasikī (स चासौ विवक्षितामुत्रं नगरादावागतो विहरति च भगवान् इत्यादिका दैवसिकी ॥) i. e. therefore that which happens a day, where the Bhagavān will be preaching, or that he was coming from a city etc., that he stays there and events like them. From this explanation as well as from the expression: Bhagavato pavittivāuya (भगवतो पवित्तिवाउय—*Aup.* § 13) it could be concluded that he had only the duty to report the activity of the Bhagavān. But it is possible that he originally is an official of general reports, only here in the Jain-text represented as specially entrusted with the reports about Mahāvīra; the explanation of the Comm. says nothing: pravṛttivyāprto vārttāvyāpāravān vārttām nivedakah<sup>210</sup> (प्रवृत्तिव्यापृतो वार्त्ताव्यापारवान् वार्त्तानिवेदकः ॥).

Finally is noteworthy the address of the king and of this official: there exists only one address: Devāṇuppiyā, the plural, in Skt. Devānām priyah. It has been assumed that the plural of devānām priyah has been the common title of His Majesty in the Maurya-epoch;<sup>211</sup> it is found in the *Aup.*-text, used not only for the king, but also for the official and for one not of high rank; the title must have lost his once distinctive

209 Cited by E. LEUMANN s. v. in the Glossary.

210 The Comm. on the Ms. or. fol. 1001 Berlin (A. WEBER, *Verzeichnis II*, 3 No. 1826), p. 24 b, l. 17, 25 a, l. 1.

211 Cf. G. BUHLER, *Ind. Ant.* VIII (1878), p. 144; *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aśoka-Inscriptions*, Leipzig 1909, p. 55; E. SENART, *Ind. Ant.* XX (1891), p. 231, n. 9; V. A. SMITH, *JRAS* 1901, p. 577 f.

sense; he must have become obsolete. His occurrence here would speak for later times, at least for a pietism, may it be also only in literature.<sup>212</sup>

For deciding the question of the age of these officials and ternis, no handle (clue) is given; only the *Kauṭ. Arthas.* could be compared, and there we see not the slightest resemblance in the courts-officials. Though arguments on general reasons are not of great weight, the fact that such a staff of officials had existed in the time of Ajātaśatru seems to be unlikely.

#### OFFICIALS OF THE QUEEN AND HER ATTENDANTS.

In *Aup.* (55) the queens come out from their palace; they are surrounded by humpbacked and other girls from different countries; in the retinue appear eunuchs (*varisavara* = *varṣavara*), chamberlains (*kañcuijja* = *kañcukiya*) and mahattaras, probably courtiers. These officials must be understood in plural, because each of the queens had certainly her own personal (*uiyagapariyūlasaddhim*); one, here *Dhārinī* or *Subhadrā* with name, is the first consort of the king (cf. § 12 and 40, 43 etc.); their title is *devī*, but also *Dhārinī* is named only *devī* (§ 12); In *Kalpas.* (II. 14) Indra (*Sakka*) has an *aggamāhiśī*, Skt. *agramāhiśī*; *mahiśī* is found also in Brahmanical sources (e. g. *Arthas.* 16, 18; 247, 5 f.). The attendants of a queen are

<sup>212</sup>. There exists still another meaning of the singular *dovānām priyah*, which supports the view that already in the post-Mauryan times the word had a ridiculous sense, cf. about *Mahābh.* II, 4, 56; A. WEBER, *Ind. Stud.* XIII, p. 337 f., n. 1.

jar, but not identical<sup>213</sup> with those of the king  
cribed in the *Arthas*.

#### THE SERVANT-GIRLS FROM DIFFERENT PEOPLES.

The servant-girls (*cetikā*) of a queen come  
from different peoples, territories; the list given  
below shows their names.

##### 5. *aṅga Bhagavatī*.

- 1 Cilatiyā
- 2 Vaḍahiyā
- 3 Babbariyā
- 4 Isigaṇiyā
- 5 Vāsaganiyā
- 6 Palhaviyā
- 7 Hlāsiyā
- 8 Laūsiyā
- 9 Ārabī
- 10 Damilā
- 11 Simṭhalī
- 12 Pulimđī
- 13 Pukkali
- 14 Bahali
- 15 Muramđī
- 16 Samvarī
- 17 Pārasī

##### 6. *aṅga Jñātādharmakā*.

- 1 Cilāiyā
- 2 Vaḍabhi
- 3 Babbarī
- 4 Vaūśī
- 5 Joniya
- 6 Palhavī
- 7 Isinī
- 8 Thāruginī
- 9 Lāsiyā
- 10 Lauaiyā
- 11 Damili
- 12 Siṁhali
- 13 Āravī
- 14 Pulimđī
- 15 Pakkaṇī
- 16 Bahali
- 17 Murumđī
- 18 Sabari
- 19 Pārasī

##### 1. *upāṅga Aup.*

- 1 Cilāi
- 2 Vaḍabhi
- 3 Babb  
ūa
- 5 J.
- 11 Damili
- 12 Siṁhali
- 13 Ārabī
- 14 Pulindī
- 15 Pakkaṇī
- 16 Bahali
- Marumđī
- Sabari
- Pārasī

## JAINIST STUDIES

6. *upāṅga Jambudvīpapr.*

Cilāti

Vndabhi

Babbarī

4 Vausiyā

5 Jopiyā

6 Palhaviyā

7 Isinjyā

8 Thāruniyā

9 Lāsiyā

10 Lausiyā

11 Damili

12 Sihali

13 Āravī

14 Pulimdi

15 Pakvanī

16 Vahali

17 Marumdi

18 Savari

19 Pārasī

1 Cilāl

2 Vndabhi

3 Babbarī

4 Paūsiā

5 Jopiyā

6 P. lhaviyā

7 Isinjā

8 Cārnipīā

9 Lāsiā

10 Lausia

11 Demali

12 Simhali

13 Ābarī

14 Pulimdi

15 Pakkāpī

16 Marumdi

17 Bahali

18 Sahari

19 Pārasī

*Kalpāntarav.*4. *upāṅga Prajñāpanā.*

20 Domvā

21 Botthakāpā

22 Gaṇdhahāravā

23 Pahuliliyā

24 Ayyalā

25 Rāmā

26 Pāsā

27 Pāsā

28 Nalayā

29 Baṇḍhuyā

30 Sūyalī

31 Komkāpā

32 Moyā

33 Palhavā

34 Mālavā

35 Maggari

36 Ābhāsiyā

37 Nakvavīpā

38 Lhasiyā

- 1 Sagā
- 2 Javanā
- 3 Cilāya
- 4 Savarā
- 5 Papparā
- 6 Kāyā
- 7 Murumdā
- 8 Bhadagā
- 9 Niṇnagā
- 10 Pakkaniyā
- 11 Kulakkhā
- 12 Komdā
- 13 Siharā
- 14 Pārasā
- 15 Godhovā
- 16 Damilā
- 17 Villalā
- 18 Pulimdi
- 19 Hārosā

39	Khagga	46	Kvokvatā
40	Ghāsiyā	47	Ārakāgā
41	Nohā	48	Hūṇā
42	Ramadhbā	49	Romagā
43	Dombilagā	50	Bharu
44	Laüsā	51	Maruyā
45	Paosā	52	Visälāpavāsī

*Nemicandra, Pravacanas.*

1	Saga	20	Pulimda
2	Javaṇa	21	Kumca
3	Sabara	22	Bhamararuyā
4	Vavvara	23	Kevāya
5	Kāya	24	Cīna
6	Marumda	25	Camcuya
7	Uḍḍa	26	Mālava
8	Godā	27	Damilā
9	Pakkapayā	28	Kulagghā
10	Aravāga	29	Kekaya
11	Hopa	30	Kirāya
12	Romaya	31	Hayamuha
13	Pārasa	32	Kharamuha
14	Khasa	33	Gaya
15	Khāsiyā	34	Turaya
16	Dumvilaya	35	Mimdhayamuhā
17	Laüsa	36	Hayakannā
18	Bhokkasa	37	Gayakannā
19	Bhillimdhā, Bhilās and Āmdhrā		

*Candrasūri on Nirayāvalī.*

1	Cilātī	10	Dravidī
2	Vadabhā	11	Simphali
3	Varvarī	12	Āravī
4	Vakuśikā	13	Pakvanī
5	Yenakā	14	Vahali
6	Pañhavikā	15	Murumḍī
7	Isinikā	16	Śavarī
8	Cārukiniikā	17	Pārasī
9	Lāsikā		

( Contd. )

## NOTES

1 A. WEBER, *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 302.  
 2 *Ibid.* p. 313.

3 E. LEUMANN, *AKM* VIII (1883), § 55.

4 A. WEBER *l. c.* p. 412.

5 A. WEBER *l. c.* p. 476.

6 *Ibid.* p. 396f.

7 *Ibid.* p. 396f., n. 3.

8 *Ibid.* p. 422, n. 1.

1 *Cilāī, cilā(i)yā* or *cilātiyā*. According to Hemacandra's *Pkt.-Grammar* (I, 183) *Cilāya* represents Skt. *Kirāta*,<sup>214</sup> E. Leumann s. v. *cilāya* cites in his *Glossary* (p. 118) a gloss in a *Ms.* of the *Rājaprasn.*,<sup>215</sup> where stands: *cilātikā dāsī*; the Comm. on *Aup.* explains: *cetikā anāryadesotpannā vā* (चेतिका अनार्यदेशोत्पन्ना वा ॥) so that these Comm. did not know the statement of Hemacandra. A scholion on *Jambudvipapr.* explains the *Cilāti*: *Cilātyah Cilātadeśotpannāḥ* (चिलात्याचिलातदेशोत्पन्नाः ॥). The *Kirātas* are known as the followers of the Indian king, probably in wartime, as noted already by Ktesias in the 5th cent. B. C.<sup>216</sup> As dhanurgrahāṇis we meet the girls of the *Kirātas* in the dramatic literature, and the *Medinikosa*, cited in a gloss on *Sākuntala* says,<sup>217</sup> *Kirāti cāmaradhārī* (किराती चामरधारी). The *Kirātas* are placed by *Varāham. Brhats.* (XIV, 18) in a southern, and (XIV, 30) in a northern direction;

<sup>214</sup> Cf. R. PISCHEL, *Prākrit-Grammatik* § 230, 257.

<sup>215</sup> A. WEBER, *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 412, n. 2.

<sup>216</sup> Cf. SWA *l. c.* p. 76f., 324f. Megasthenes does not mention them in this position, but in the *Arthas*, they appear as attendants of the king.

<sup>217</sup> C. BOHTLINGK's edition (Bonn 1842) p. 177 on p. 20, 16.

they form a stereotyped part of mleccha-peoples in the *Brhats.* as well as in the *Epic* and *Purānas*.<sup>218</sup> The occurrence of this people cannot be therefore an argument in any way.

2 *Vadabhi*, in *Bhagavatī* *Vadahiyā*; they are explained by *Abhayadeva* with: madāha-kosṭhabhī<sup>219</sup> (मदहकोष्ठभीः); by the Comm. on *Aup.* with: vakrādhahakoṣṭhā, or by the *Jñātādh.* with: mahākoṣṭhā.<sup>220</sup> If any identification is permitted, it seems probable to see in these women the *Vallabhiyā*; Valabhi plays a role in the Jain-community as the place of the council under Devarddhi Kṣamāśramaṇa.

3 The *Barbariyā* are known from the *Epic*, *Purānas* and the lexicographical literature as well as from the *Brhats.* (V, 42; XIV, 18).

4 *Isiganiyā*, *Isinī* (cf. *Weber l. C.* p. 476), or *Isinīyā*; the first part of this name represents a Skt. ṛṣī<sup>o</sup>; from *Mhbh.* (V, 4,18); *Rām.* (IV, 41,16 ed. Gorr.) we get knowledge of a people Rṣika, where as the ed. Bomb. (IV, 41,10) reads Anuṣṭika, but the Comm. remarks: Rṣikāniti pāṭhah. This people occurs in the *Purānas*, and Alberuni mentions the same in the list, taken from the *Brhats.* (XIV, 15). They are placed in a southern direction, on the ocean, but it seems as if the name Rṣika would be an etymology of a similar, perhaps Ristiika; for the tāpasāśrama of a people is too suspicious. Therefore the question, put by

218 Cf. P. W. s. v. and F. E. PARGITER in his translation of the *Mārkanḍeya-Purāna*, *Bibl. Ind.* 1005, p. 322f.

219 A WEBER l. c. p. 302, n. 4.

220 E. Leumann in the *Glossary*, s. v.

Fleet,<sup>221</sup> whether the R̄ṣikas have any connexion with the Ristika or Rastika in Aśoka's fifth Rock-edict, is worthy of notice, though their evidently southern situation makes difficulty. Also the second part of the word causes doubt, when we take the form, given on first place, unless we explain it as Skt. °ganikā.

5 The possibility to take this second part as gaṇikā is increased by the return of the ending in the name Vāsa gaṇiyā. Abhayadeva<sup>222</sup> has Vāruganiyāḥim, and adds Joniyāḥim. Neither in the Jñātādh., nor in *Aup.*, nor in the other lists a name of half-way similar phonetical shape is found; only in the Jñātādh. Vausī would correspond, and it is remarkable that this name is followed by Joniya; in *Aup.* the place is occupied by the Pausiyā (with v. l. Bau°) followed by the Joniya again like that in the *Kalpāntaravācyāni* (Weber l. c. p. 476). Therewith these four forms would exist: Vāsa-, Vāruganiyā, Vausī and Pausī. None of these names are known from other works; also the explanation of the Comm. on Jñātādh.<sup>223</sup> Vakusikā does not help further. In the *Purāṇas* a western people, the Vasikas or Nāsikyas, occur; whether there exists a connexion is, according to the conditions of the readings, impossible to say.

<sup>221</sup> *Ind. Ant.* XXII (1893), p. 188; cf. *ibid.* XX (1891), p. 248—Candrasūri (Weber l. c. p. 422, n. 1) has: Isinikābhīh—For R̄ṣika cf. W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder* p. 74 and 79, who gives lists of the peoples in the *Purāṇas*; Pargiter l. c. p. 332, 366.

<sup>222</sup> A. Weber l. c. p. 302, n. 6.

<sup>223</sup> E. Leumann in the *Glossary s. v. Vausaya* and A. Weber *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 332, 412.

6 The Joniyā, mentioned above, are the Yavanikās; inasmuch as these follow the foregoing unidentified people and are again followed by non-Indian peoples, the assumption is possible that the Pausī were non-Indians.

7 For the name Pahlava Weber has<sup>224</sup> attempted to state a fixed date based on remarks by J. Olshausen<sup>225</sup> and Th. Noldeke,<sup>226</sup> that the alteration of pahlava from parthava belongs to the first cent. A. D. and therefore the reception of the form Pahlava in Indian writings must be dated at the end of the first or better in the second cent. A. D. When also the historical objections, advanced by G. Bühler,<sup>227</sup> today have lost their weight, the importance in general of such a statement in Indian literature is too little. But in an other direction the occurrence of the Pahlavas has its value: it shows the inconsistence with the historical conditions that Pahlavis had that they can be slaves in the time of Mahāvīra or Ajātaśatru, say in the 5th cent. B. C.

8 In *Bhagavatī* occurs Hlasiyā; in the fourth Upāṅga, *Prajñāpanā*, the form runs Lhasiya or Lhāsiya; in *Jñātādh.* appears Lasiyā like that in *Aup.*, *Jambudvīpapr.* and in the *Kalpāntarav.*<sup>228</sup>

224 In the second edition (German) of his *History of Indian Literature* p. 338.

225 *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1874), p. 708; *Parthava und Pahlav, Māda and Māh*, Berlin 1876.

226 *ZIMG XXXI* (1878), p. 558.

227 *SBE XXV*, p. CXV f.—Cf. E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, London 1908, p. XXXVII, n. 2.

228 A. Weber *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 302, 313, 397, 412 476 resp.

9 Cāruṇīyā in *Aup.*, is quite uncertain; there exists a set of various readings: Thārunīyā in *Jñātādh.*, *Jambudvīpapr.*; the latter has also Thārukīnīā, in the transcription Thārukinikābhīḥ,<sup>229</sup> further Cārubhaṇīyā, Cāruṇīyā, Cārukīnīā, Vārūṇīyā, Vāruṇīyā. In the *Prajñāpanā* we meet a town Varanā in the Atthā-country, or Acchā-country; Nemicandra in his *Pravacanasāro ddhāra* reads Varuṇa and explains: Varuṇo nagaram Acchā deśah anye tu Varuṇe Acchāpurītyāhuh<sup>230</sup> (वरुणे नगरं, अच्छा देशः, अन्ये तु वरुणे अच्छापुरील्याहुः ॥). Though both seem to be unknown otherwise, perhaps the town Rkṣapurī has existed in a Varuṇa-country, from which the girls came. A town Varuṇā occurs in Jinist cosmography and in the Mahāmāyūrī.<sup>231</sup>

10 Conforming to the Lausiyās in the other sources the *Prajñāpanā* reads Lausā; in Skt. the name would correspond to a \*Lakusā,<sup>232</sup> unknown, as it seems, otherwise.

11 the Ārabīs or Āravīs, occurring in many texts,<sup>233</sup> are the Arabians; they are found in the *Brhats.* (XIV,17). The conjecture by N.N. Law,<sup>234</sup> that Vanāyu in the *Arthas.* (133,16) is Arabia, is quite unintelligible; these places, from

229 A. Weber *l. c.* p. 412 and E. Leumann, *Aup.* § 55, n. 1.

230 A. Weber *l. c.* p. 398 and n. 3.

231 W. Kirfel *l. c.* p. 257, 305; S. Lévi *JAS.* XI, t. v (1915), p. 95 f.

232 Cf. A. Weber *l. c.* p. 397, n.

233 A. Weber *l. c.* p. 302, 313, 380, 412, 476.

234 *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, London (1914), p. 10, n. 2.

which the horses came, are common to the *Mhbh.* (VIII 7-11 cf. VI,9,56) and *Rām.* (I,6,22; the Comm. says: *deśaviśeṣah*) and to the lexicographical literature (*Halāy. Abhidh.* II,284; *Hemac. Abhidh.* 1235; *Amarak.* II,8,13; *Vaijay.* 111,189). For there exists little probability that the Indians would have named the people otherwise, when already in the inscriptions of Darius Hystaspes, *Arabāya* is found.<sup>235</sup> Therefore the occurrence of the word in *Varāham. Brhats.* seems to be the first in Brahmanical literature, which can be dated with certainty.

12 *Damiḷī*, once<sup>236</sup> found in the form *Demalio*, are the representatives of South India; the first notice of southern peoples is found in the XIII. Rock-edict of *Asoka*. *Damiḷa* appears in Skt. as *Dravida* (cf. Pischel, *Pkt.-Grammatik*§ 261, 387); the latter is in Brahmanical literature not of high age. The time of *Vātsyāyana's Kamasūtra*, where (p. 133) the women of the *Dravidas* are mentioned, is uncertain;<sup>237</sup> in *Manu* they occur in a stereotyped enumeration (X, 44) like those in *Epic. Varāhamihira* shows an advanced knowledge of the country, speaking from the *Dravidādhipāḥ* in (IV,23); the passage (LVIII,4) shows a connexion between a *Dravidan* measure and sculpture. According to the P. w. s. v. *Dravida* means five peoples:

235 Behistun-inscription I, 1. 15; cf. also the other inscriptions, e. g. Persepolise (Weissbach-Bang, *Assyriologische Bibliothek* X, 1, 2, Leipzig 1893-1908), p. 34, 1. 11.—Cf. N. Dey, *Ind. Ant.* XLIX (1920), Suppl. p. 22, s. v. *Banāyu*.

236 A. Weber *l. c.* p. 476.

237 M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der Ind. Lit.* III Leipzig (1922), p. 540 supposes the fourth cent. A. D.

Āndhrāḥ Karṇāṭakāścaiva Gurjarā Dravidāstathā,  
Mahārāṣṭrā iti khyātāḥ pañcaite Dravidāḥ smṛtāḥ.

(आन्ध्राः कर्णाटकाथैव गुर्जरा द्रविदालथा ।

महाराष्ट्रा इति ख्याताः पञ्चौते द्रविदाः स्मृताः ॥ )

or *ibid.* s. v. *Drāvida*):

Karṇāṭaścaiva Tailangā Gujjarā Rāṣṭravāsināḥ,  
Āndhrāśca Drāvidāḥ pañca Vindhya-dakṣināvā-  
sināḥ<sup>238</sup>

(कर्णाटकाथैव तैलग्ना गुर्जरा राष्ट्रवासिनः ।

आन्ध्राश्च द्रविदाः पञ्च विन्यदक्षिणवासिनः ॥ )

13 Simhali in *Jñātādh.*, Sinthali in *Bhagavati*, occurs also in *Candrasūri's Comm.*<sup>239</sup> and in the *Kalpāntarav.*<sup>240</sup> Though the P. W. cites Simhala works of a relatively late date, stress cannot be laid thereon; for the connexion of northern India with Ceylon must be dated back in the time of the flourishing Buddhism. But Greek testimonies make it probable that the name Simhaladvīpa belongs to the first cent. A. D., whereas the elder name seems to have been Tambaraparnī (Tāmraparnī), as is shown also by the Aśoka-inscriptions.<sup>241</sup>

14 The Pulindīs, occurring often in the texts (cf. Weber *l. c.* XVII, *Index* s. v.) are not only known from Aśoka's XIII. Rock-edict, but also from the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*.<sup>242</sup>

238 In the *Kalpāntarav.* occurs under other kinds the Drāvidālipi (A. Weber *l. c.* p. 440); but no historic value can be attributed to this passage.

239 A. Weber *l. c.* p. 422, n. 1.

240 *Ibid.* p. 476.

241 Cf. H. Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa* p. 91 f.; *The Cambridge History of India* I, p. 605 f.; *Ind. Ant.* XII. 1884, p. 33 f.

242 Macdonell-Keith, *Vedic Index* II, p. 8 s. v.

15 The Pakkaṇīs of *Aup.* appear in the other texts in different forms: Pukkali (Pakka°) in *Bhagavatt*, Pakvaṇī in *Jambudvīpapr.* and in *Candrasūri's Comm.*,<sup>243</sup> while the form like that in *Aup.* occurs also in *Jñātādh.* and *Kalpāntarav.*<sup>244</sup> It would be an easy thing to identify the Pakkaṇī etc. with a people, whose name is given again in different forms: Pukkasa, Pulkasa, Pukkasa, Bukkasa, Pakkaśa; but there remains the difficulty in appearing of the cerebral dental sibilant. The word pakkaṇā, resp. pakvana, is known only in the meaning "hut" of a savage people; in consequence of these two reasons the identification is doubtful; the Pulkasa are found in *Vedic texts*<sup>245</sup>

16 The Bahalī are to be identified with the Bāhlikas, Bālhikas etc. the *Epic*.<sup>246</sup> Though on the one hand the statements expressed by Weber,<sup>247</sup> that works containing this name cannot be dated back before the Christian era, may be correct in general, it is on the other hand doubtful whether the Baktrians are meant by the name or rather peoples of the west.

243 A. Weber *l. c.* p. 302 and n. 7; 412, 422.

244 *Ibid.* p. 313, 476; cf. p. 332, 397.

245 Macdonell-Keith *l. c.* II, p. 27 s.v. Paulkasa; cf. Halāyudha (ed. Th. Aufrecht) Notes p. 112 on II, 443.

246 Cf. P. W. s. v. Bāhlika and Bālhika; S. Sørensen, *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, Part III, London 1907, p. 110 s. v.

247 SPA 1892, p. 985-995; A. Ludwig, *Sitzungsberichte der königl. böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 1896, p. 46 ff.; Macdonell-Keith *l. c.* II, p. 63 s. v. Balhika; Pargiter *l. c.* p. 311, n.\*

17 For Murundi the alternative form Murandī is found; this people is well known from Samudragupta's *Allahabad-prasasti*, where (CII III, p. 8, l. 23) they appear between Sakas and Saimhalas.<sup>248</sup> The people, if the identification with the Ou-lun of the Chinese *Encyclopaedia Ma-teuan-lin* is correct, are proved for the seventh cent. A. D., although they are not found in *Varāham. Brhats.*

18 Of no significance are the Sabaris which people appears in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 18) as the Dasyus together with the Andhra, Pundra, Pulinda and Mūtiba.<sup>249</sup> They belong to the south-eastern division (*Varāham. Brhats.* XIV, 10), and pass generally for a tribe of savage as also *Varāham.* (LXXXVII, 10) indicates, where he speaks from the Sabaravyādhacaurasaṅga.

19 The last women are the Pārasis, the Persian; the quotations in P. W. s. v.

248 S. Lévi, *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, Leyde 1896, p. 179-185 remarked that murunda may be the title of the king, a view which has been adopted by Sten Konow, SPA 1916, p. 790 f., *Das indische Drama* p. 49. Hemac. *Abhidh.* 960 ahd *Vaijay.* 37, 50 shew the Murundas or Murandas on the west frontier (for Lampaka see S. Lévi J. l. c. p. 89 f.); the Marundai of Ptolemaios (VII, 2, 14; Oppian, *Kyneget.* IV, 165) are situated on the Ganges, where already Megasthenes (fg. inc. LVI, 9; Plinius *NH* VI, 6f.) knows the Melindae. Lévi stated himself (*Mélanges* p. 180) that "śaka in the title daiva-putra" is an ethnic; and why not "murunda"? The Chinese records may give a vrddhi-form of Murunda as the title of the kings of the Murundas. (Cf. J. Allan, *Catalogue* p. XXIV ff.).

249 Macdonell-Keith l. c. II, p. 354.

Pārasika and Pārasīka would not allow the acceptance of high age of this name in Indian literature. Though it would be a priori probable to assume an early connection between the Indians and Persians (naturally in post-Aryan periods) dating from the time of Darius at least, the views of the scholars concerning Parśu are not unanimous;<sup>250</sup> in spite of Alberuni's equation of the Pāraśavas = Persians, the fact that Brahmanical theory declares the Pāraśava as the son of a Brahman and Śūdra (e. g. *Manu IX*, 178) speaks against this identification. Further, if Pāraśava would mean the persians, Pārasika seems to be unintelligible.

The question of the date of the whole list is rendered more difficult by the impossibility to locate and to identify a good deal of them. Also the arrangement gives no handle (clue) to infer their site; for the Kirātas, Pahlavas, Arabians belong to the west, but they are interrupted by unknown peoples. Then follow those of the South, as Dravidas, Simhalas, Pulindas, while those, coming next, have to be placed again in a western direction: Baktrians, Persians, to enumerate only the more certain peoples.

Comparing the non-Indian literature, Plinius in his *Naturalis Historica* (VI, 64 ff) does not mention the name of a people, which is found in the list, except the Kirātas. Ptolemaies, the geographer of the second cent. A. D., knows from the peoples, occurring in the list, the Sabaras (Sabarai VII, 1, 80), near the Ganges. In that

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250 Cf. Macdonell-Keith *l. o.* I, p. 504 f.

(VII, 1, 64) he mentions the Pulindai Agriop-hagoi which are to be located in a western direction. South of the Ganges-valley are to be placed the Marundai of VII, 2, 14. No more can be gathered from Ptolemaies' *Geography*, and also the Chinese pilgrims do not help further, because they were not thoroughly acquainted with the peoples of India. First in Alberuni's *Indica* a full list of peoples is found, but that is not the description by a foreign geographer, rather, the compilation by a learned Arabian from Hindu works.

Alberuni<sup>251</sup> takes his geographical division of India as well from the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* as from Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*. Common with our list the former source has the Śabaras, Kirātas, Vāhlikas, Pahlavas; while the latter has the following peoples: Śabaras, Rṣikas, Siṃhalas, Barbaras, Kirātas, Pāraśavas, Dramiḍas, Yavanas; the Vokkāṇa, located by Varāhamihira in the West (XIV, 20; XVI, 35) have hardly to do anything with the Pakkaṇa. In the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (II, 3; Wilson's transl. Works vol. VII, p. 129) we meet the Kirātas, Yavanas; in *Mhbh.* (II, 52), and (VI, 9, 38 ff), where Sañjaya enumerates the peoples of Bhāratavarṣa, only some of the list are mentioned. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* occur these tribes: Vāhlikas (LVII, 35), Pahlavas (36-LVIII, 30), Kirātas (LVII, 40,) Śabaras, Pulindas (47), and Rṣikas (LVIII, 27; cf. Pargiter's transl. p. 332, n.†), Siṃhalas (27), Pāraśavas (32), Dravidas (33), and Yavana (52; cf. Pargiter l. c. LVII, 8, and 36 with n. §).

251 Alberuni's *India* (transl. by E. C. Sachau), London 1910, I, p. 299 ff.

In spite of the much more complete enumeration in the Purāṇas the different character of the list in the Jinist works is undeniable. It is not only the circumstance that all the girls are from non-Āryān tribes, because, as shown just above, also in the Purāṇas the Mlechhas are included in the inhabitants of Bhāratavarṣa rather the difference is in the form of the names, unknown from the Brahmanical literature.

Only one hint we get from Nemicandra's *Pravacanasāroddhāraprakarana*,<sup>252</sup> his list of the peoples is evidently enlarged and of a more recent date than that of the other texts. The time of Nemicandra is determined by the Comm. of Siddhasenāsūri<sup>253</sup> who belongs to Samvat 1242 = 1185 A. D. There is no doubt that the lists in all the texts represent interpolations which are shown by their more or less conforming character. The peoples must be understood not even as peoples in the strict sense, rather as tribes of India at the locality and time of the interpolator. The lists in the Brhats, and the Purāṇas on the one hand, and those of the texts of the Siddhānta on the other, make it probable, that the latter belong to a time nearer the approximate date of Nemicandra, say the 10. or 11. cent. A. D.; to a time, not too far from this date, the origin of the list may belong. The

<sup>252</sup> Cf. p. Peterson, *Report (JBBRAS XVI Extr. Number) on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.* in the Bom. bay Circle, 1882-83, p. 66 ff., Appendix I, p. 88 f.; A. Weber, *Verzeichnis II*, 3 p. 844, No. 1936.

<sup>253</sup> A. Weber *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 211, n. 3.

supposition that the slave-girls could be from peoples under the dominion of Ajātaśatru, is an anachronism, is out of question.

Summarizing the results of the inquiry we have seen an affinity between the gamas and the Brahmanical literature. But the character of the gamas, technical expressions in holy texts, and their probable source, for a certain part, the Dictionaries, show that they represent interpolations. And if the kośas of the end of the first millenary offer the most striking parallels, or the Purāṇas of a certainly relatively recent date stand next, the conclusion that the lists also must be of a recent date is possible. Though the cities are occurring in texts of early times, the list can be borrowed from them, because these places formed the local back-ground of the founders of the two most important religious non-Brahmanical movements, and because they were fixed by tradition. Not so with the titles of officials: here we had occasion to refer to analogies in inscriptions and in works of later times. The status of the court-officials, differing in a high degree from that known from other sources, can hardly serve as an argument of an early date; and, finally, the women, used in the suite of the queens, permit us to assume a date of the end of the first millenary rather than that of earlier times. Arguments of general reasons possess little vigour of evidence; but the developed conditions of settlements, officials and of the ceremonial may serve as a supporting proof.

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# INDEX

N. B.—Figures indicate page numbers; fn means foot-note.

## A

- Ābhaya-deva 102.  
*Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (Halay) 32; 42; 48; 68; 8fn.  
*Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (Hemac) 7; 12; 14; 24; 28; 32; 35; 39; 40; 48; 68; 77; 86; 104; 8 fn; 13 fn; 16 fn; 166 fn; 248 fn.  
 Ābhīras 26 fn.  
*Ācārāṅga* 1; 2; 25; 31; 36; 38; 47; 54; 79 fn; 82 fn.  
 Acchā-Country 104.  
 accountant 83; 84.  
 Acropolis of Campā 50.  
 address, of the king 95.  
 adhiṣṭhāna 27.  
 Ādisimha 80.  
 administration, political, 73.  
 Afridīs 20.  
 agāra 6.  
 aggala 31.  
 aggalapāśaga 31.  
 aggamāhiṣī 96.  
 Agni-Purāṇa 27.  
 agramāhiṣī 96.  
 Airwa 115 fn.  
*Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* 106; 108.  
 Ajantā-Inscription 83 fn.  
 Ajātaśatru 93; 96; 103; 112.  
 Ajaya 42.  
 ākara 6; 13; 13.  
 ākāra 43a.  
 ākarakarmānta 12.  
 Ākaravanti 19 fn.  
 ākhetāśirṣaka 32.  
 Ākhotā 32.  
 Ālabhikā 49; 54; 58; 63.  
 Ālabhiyā 59; 62.  
 Ālavaka (Yakṣa) 59; 62; 120 fn.  
 Ālavi 59; 60; 61; 62.  
 Ālavinagara 61.  
 Ālberuni 101; 109; 110; 251 fn.  
 Ā-le 59; 60.  
 Aliganj Sewan 64.  
*Allahabad-praśasti* 108.  
 Allan 150 fn; 151 fn; 166 fn; 182 fn; 248 fn.  
 Alow 59.  
*Altindisches Leben* 172 fn.  
 amacca 71; 79; 84; 85.  
*Amarakośa* 9; 29; 39; 42; 104; 31 fn; 75 fn; 166 fn.  
 Amarāvati-Inscription 199 fn.  
 amātya 79; 83; 84.  
 amātya-prakṛti 71.  
 Amāvatāra 67.  
 Ambagāma 64.  
 ambassador 91.  
 amphitheatre 23.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| amṛta 42.  | argada 35.  |
| amsa 31 fn.  | argala 32; 36.  |
| Amsapatha 22; 31 fn.   | Ārhanīti 76; 91.  |
| amśikā 20; 22.   | army 93.  |
| amśikā-adopting 20.  | <i>Arthaśāstra</i> 5; 7; 8; 9; 11; 12;<br>18; 20; 21; 22; 31; 34; 36;<br>39; 40; 41; 44; 70; 74; 84;<br>86; 90; 92; 96; 97; 104; 15<br>fn; 16 fn; 24 fn; 31 fn; 35<br>fn; 36 fn; 148 fn; 178 fd;<br>204 fn; 216 fn. |
| Anekaṛthasaṃgraha 6; 28;<br>39; 42; 48; 86; 62 fn;<br>75 fn. | arts 86.  |
| Āṅga 50; 57.   | āryanivāsas 25.   |
| Āṅga-kingdom 61.   | āsama 6; 13.  |
| Āṅga-Magadha 107 fn.   | asidhara 208 fn.  |
| angāra 47.   | Āśoka 22; 29; 40.   |
| āngārakarmānta 39; 44.                                       | āśrama 13.  |
| Āṅgaratṭha 61.   | Assaji 116 fn.  |
| āṅgas, of the army 90.                                       | assembly 22.  |
| Āṅguttara-Nikāya 46; 81 fn;<br>84 fn.                        | assembly-hall 40.   |
| Āṅguttarāpa 61; 65.  | assembly, member of, 22   |
| <i>An Index to the names in the<br/>Mahābhārata</i> 246 fn.  | Asthikagrāma 49.  |
| ānkuśadhara 208 fn.  | astrologer 83; 84.  |
| antahpura 35.  | Āsvagoṣa 120 fn.  |
| anūpaśālā 48.  | Āṭavaka 62.   |
| Anupiya 15.  | Āṭavī 62; 80; 122 fn.   |
| Anurādhapura 58 fn.  | āṭavikas 20.  |
| Anuṣṭika 101.  | Atharyaveda 6.  |
| Anuyogadrārasūtra 8.   | āṭīṣa 32.   |
| Āpāṇa 61; 65.  | āṭīlaka 31; 36.   |
| Āpastamba 14.  | attendants 71.  |
| Arabāya 105.   | attendants, of the queen 92, 96.  |
| Arabians 109.  | Attīha-country 104.   |
| Ārabis 104.  | Attīhanāgara 84 fn.   |
| aranya 48.   | Attīhiyaggāma 84 fn.  |
| Āravis 104.  | Atumā 65.   |
| arena (Samājāvata) 23.                                       | audience-hall 85.   |
|  | <i>Aupapātikasūtra</i> 1; 3; 6; 13; 18;<br>25; 31; 35; 38; 41; 47;<br>50; 68; 70; 79; 84; 85; 87;   |

- 89; 90; 91; 93; 94; 95; 96;  
97; 100; 101; 102; 103;  
107; 82 fn; 192 fn; 197 fn.  
*Avadānaśataka* 35; 9 fn; 20 fn;  
38 fn.
- avalagaka 80; 82..  
avalagana 80; 81; 82..  
āveśana 38; 48..  
āyatana 38; 39..
- B**
- Babylonien und Assyrien* 172  
fn.
- b baggage 31 fn.  
bags 31 fn.
- Bahali 107..
- Bāhlika 107..
- Bahuputra 54..
- Boijanātha-Praśasti* 40..
- Baktrians 107; 109..
- Bālacakrita 19..
- balādhikarāṇa 151 fn.
- balavāya 93..
- balavyāpṛta 93; 94..
- Bālhika 107..
- bali 81; 173 fn.
- Bāngarmāu 59..
- Beniyā (Bunecan) 52..
- bank 85..
- Barbaras 110..
- Barbariyā 101..
- Barddhamāna 84 fn.
- Bargaon 56..
- Basār (basād) 51; 52..
- Basārh 15..
- Basti 66..
- Behistu-inscriptions 235 fn.
- Beiträge zur indischen Lexi-*  
*cographie* 64 fn; 149 fn;  
165 fn; 189 fn; 190 fn; 211 fn.
- eluva 54..
- Benares 56; 58; 60; 702 and  
benzoe plant 75 fn.
- Besnagar-inscription 91..
- Bazzenberger 165 fn.
- bhāda 70; 90..
- bhadanigama 199 fn.
- Bhaddiyā 56; 57; 58; 60; 61;  
118 fn.
- Bhaddiyānugara 56; 57; 58..
- Bhadikiya 110 fn.
- Bhadrāñkaranagara 57..
- Bhadrapūra 57..
- Bhadrikā 49; 56; 57; 60; 63;  
110 fn; 118 fn.
- Bhagavatī* 55; 62; 97; 103;  
107..
- Bhandarkar 16; 80; 169  
fn.
- bharuvādī 13..
- Bhrānu dīkṣita 31 fn.
- Bharoch (Broach) 17 fn.
- Bhagalpur 50..
- Bhagavān 95..
- Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* 26; 43a..
- bhakta 94..
- Bhamgi-country 67..
- Bhānda-gāma 64..
- bhāndāgārika 182 fn.
- Bhāratavarṣa 110; 111..
- Bhāṣa 19; 70..
- bhaṭṭa 70; 142 fn.
- bhati 94..
- bhatta 94..
- bhittiśringa 32..
- Bhoganagara 64; 68..
- Bhramarāśalmali 81..
- bhṛta 70..
- bhṛti 94..
- Bihar 60..
- Bimbisāra 62; 90..

- bins 203 fn.  
 birth-place, Mahāvīra's, 53.  
 blade of green 78.  
 bow-strings 43.  
*Bṛhgukaccha* (also known as  
     Bharukaccha, Bṛgupura,  
     Bṛgukṣetra) 11.  
*Biography of Appolonius of*  
     *Tyana* 20.  
 Bloch, T 105 fn.  
 body, of the Śravas 16.  
 Bohtlingk 217 fn.  
 Bollensen 10.  
 Bottiah 118 fn.  
 brahmadeva 12.  
 brāhmaṇa 70.  
*Bṛhaśp* 5.  
*Bṛhatkathāmañjari* 150 fn.  
*Bṛhateamhitā* 35; 37; 38; 45;  
     49; 71; 74; 75; 100; 101;  
     10½; 105; 108; 110; 111.;  
 brick-building 41.  
*Buddhacarita* 120 fn.  
 Buddha 57; 58; 59; 61; 64; 65;  
     116 fn.  
*Buddhaghoṣa* 55 fn.  
 buddhisaciva 177 fn.  
*Buddhist India* 11; 102 fn;  
     134 fn.  
*Buddhist-Legends* 78 fn.  
 Bühlér 9; 14; 27; 79; 81;  
     103; 20 fn; 211 fn.  
 Bukkasa 107.  
 bullocks 93.  
 Burdwān 50.  
 burial-ground 44.  
*Burlingame* 78 fn.  
 burning-ground 45.
- C
- caityavṛkṣa 48.  
 camp 77. . . . .  
 campā 49; 50; 68; 93; 107 fn.  
 Camp, on a high ground 36 fn.  
*Campakāreṇhikathānaka* 76.  
*Caṇḍapāśika* 150 fn.  
*Candrasūri* 99; 105; 107.  
*Cāpālacetiya* 54.  
*Caravaus, robbery of* 12.  
 Caravan-place 24.  
 Caravans, the leaders of 90.  
 Cāruṇīyā 103.  
 Caryā 31.  
*Catalogue of the Coins of*  
     *Gupta Dynasties* 150 fn; 182  
     fn; 248 fn.  
 Catuspatha 48.  
*Caṇḍukyarājadhanī* 17.  
 Cave 80; 47.  
 Cave, the founder of 91.  
 Cesling 38.  
 Ceda 85.  
 Ceremonial 112.  
 Ceṭa 80; 185 fn;  
 Ceṭaka 53; 54; 72.  
 Ceṭikā 97.  
 Cetiyas 54.  
 Chadakica 199 fn.  
 Chaitya caves 83 fn.  
 Chamberlains 96.  
 Champaka 31.  
 Charpentier 20; 136 fn;  
     137 fn; 139 fn; 142 fn  
 Chapara 51.  
 Charcoal-burning 44.  
 Cherand 51.  
 Chief of police 150 fn.  
 Chiefs 93.  
 Childers 22; 33 fn.  
*Chinese Encyclopaedia* 108.  
 Chinese pilgrims 51.  
 Calai 100.

Cilā(i)yā 100.  
 Cilatiyā 100.  
 Cilāya 100.  
 Citadel 24.  
 City-life 38.  
 Civilian, prominent 198 fn.  
 Clay-seals 182 fn.  
 Cognomeu 90.  
 Colebrooke 140 fn.  
 Collins Mark 85 fn.  
 Commander-in-chief 70.  
 Confessor, of the Dharma, 199  
     fn.  
 Consort 96.  
 Contests 22.  
 Cornices 33.  
*Corporate Life* 16; 68 fn; 144  
     fn.  
 Corporation 71.  
 Corpses 45.  
 Councillor. 83; 84.  
 Courtiers 96.  
 Court-officials 92; 96; 112.  
*Cullavagga* 34; 46; 59; 131 fn.  
 Cunda 65.  
 Cunningham, A. 51; 58; 63.

**D**

dabbhakammamta 39.  
 dabbhammamta 43.  
 Damilā 105.  
 dañāyaka 74.  
 dañāyakaru 74.  
 dañādhipatya 150 fn.  
 dañāmukhya 74.  
 dandañāyaga 71.  
 dañādanāyaga 73; 150 fn.  
 dandanāyaka 73; 74; 90; 92.  
 dañāpāśādhikarāṇa 150 fn.  
 dañāpāśika 150 fn.

dañāvāsika 150 fn.  
 dāra 31.  
 darbha 43.  
 Darel-district 38 fn.  
 darīo 31.  
 Darius Hystaspes 104; 105;  
     109.  
*Daśakumāracarita* 14.  
*Das indische Drama* 187 fn;  
     248 fn.  
*Das Rāmāyaṇa* 63 fn; 241 fn.  
 Dasyu 108.  
 dauvārika 84; 94.  
 Deb 148 fn.  
 Demalīo 105.  
 desādhikata 79.  
 deśanivedaka 91.  
*Deśināmamālā* 142 fn.  
 devagrīhah 22.  
 devakula 38; 39.  
 Devāñūppiyā 95.  
 Devarddhi 101.  
 Devarāya 74.  
 devārika 84.  
 devasiyā 94.  
 devī 96.  
 Dey 84 fn; 85 fn; 86 fn; 115  
     fn.  
*Dhammanad* 36  
*Dhammapada-comm* 15; 44; 57;  
     58; 60; 61; 15 fn; 34 fn;  
     117 fn.  
 Dhaṇama 80.  
 Dhanasījaya 117 fn.  
 Dhanapāla 27; 78; 166 fn.  
 dhanurdhara 208 fn.  
 Dhāriṇī 96.  
*Dharmapāla* (?) 31 fn.  
*Dharmarakṣā* 120 fn.  
*Dharmaśāstra* 4; 82.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>dharmaśātrapāṭha 70.<br/> <i>Dharmasūtra</i> 14.<br/> <i>Dhātupāṭha</i> 6; 7; 15; 16 fn; 30<br/>     fn.<br/>     Dictionaries 27; 112; 49 fn.<br/> <i>Dictionary</i> (The New Pali<br/>     Text society) 31 fn; 57 fn.<br/> <i>Die Kosmographie Inder</i> 84 fn;<br/>     221 fn.<br/> <i>Die Religion des Buddha</i> 140<br/>     fn.<br/> <i>Die Soziale Gliederung</i> 59 fn;<br/>     183 fn; 194 fn; 205 fn.<br/> <i>Dīgha-Nikāya</i> 46; 54; 64; 65;<br/>     66; 31 fn; 41 fn; 82 fn.<br/> <i>Dīgha-Nikāya</i> (translation)<br/>     31 fn; 49 fn.<br/>     Dīghwā-dubauli 63.<br/>     distilleries 42.<br/> <i>Divyāvadāna</i> 7; 12; 33; 35;<br/>     46; 48; 57; 38 fn; 41 fn;<br/>     207 fn.<br/>     door (<i>kapāṭa</i>) 38.<br/>     door-posts 34.<br/> <i>dovāriya</i> 84<br/> <i>Dramidas</i> 110.<br/> <i>draṅgā</i> 28.<br/> <i>Dravida</i> 105; 106; 109.<br/> <i>dronamukha</i> 10; 11; 12; 27;<br/>     28; 29.<br/> <i>drumaśīrṣa</i> 32.<br/> <i>drumaśīrṣaka</i> 33.<br/> <i>Dudhpani</i> 80.<br/> <i>Dulva</i> 55.<br/> <i>durga</i> 24 fn; 43 a.<br/> <i>durgāvidhāna</i> 31.<br/> <i>dūta</i> 91.<br/> <i>Dutta</i> 76 fn.<br/> <i>dūya</i> 91.<br/> <i>dvāra</i> 5.</p> | <p>dwelling-places for Aryas 25;<br/>     26;<br/> <b>E</b><br/> <i>Early History</i> 85 fn; 133 fn.<br/>     elephants 80; 83.<br/>     elephants, overseer of, 93.<br/>     empty horse 46.<br/>     encampment 19.<br/>     encampment, the place of, 77.<br/> <i>Encyclopaedia of Religion and<br/>     Ethics</i> 101 fn; 130 fn.<br/> <i>Epic</i> 26; 31; 82; 92; 101; 107<br/>     155 fn.<br/> <i>Epigraphia Indica</i> 5; 8; 40;<br/>     74; 75; 79; 14 fn; 20 fn;<br/>     Establishments 38.<br/>     eunuchs 96.<br/>     exorcisers 44.<br/>     explorations, in Eastern Tar-<br/>     kastana, 46.<br/>     exporting merchants 91.</p> |
|---|---|
- F**
- Fa-Hian* 58; 59.  
 families 80.  
 festivals 23.  
*Fick* 87; 59 fn; 183 fn; 197 fn;  
 205 fn.  
 fisher 90.  
*Fleet, J. W.* 15 fn; 175 fn.  
 floor 32.  
 formularium 49 fn.  
 fort 24.  
 Fortifications 31.  
 fortress 31; 33.  
*Foy* 173 fn; 176 fn.  
*Franke* 65; 31 fn; 49 fn;  
 82 fn; 129 fn.  
 funeral pyre 45;

## G

gaddao 31.  
 gahapati 91.  
 Galanos 33.  
 gāma, 1; 3-5.  
 gāmabhojaka 45.  
 gāmāgara 6.  
 gāmaghāṭa 41 fn.  
 gāmahaṇam 27.  
 gāmarakkhā 36.  
 gamas 24.  
 Gambhi-territory 67;  
 games, celebration of, 22.  
 gaṇa 71.  
 gaṇaka 182 fn.  
 gaṇanāyaga 71.  
 gaṇanāyaga 71.  
 gaṇanāyaka 202 fn.  
 Gandaka 64.  
 gaṇeṣṭi 42.  
 Ganges 51; 60.  
 gaṇikā 86.  
 gaṇikāguru 86; 145 fn; 146 fn;  
     148 fn.  
 gaṇaka 83.  
 gaṇaya 83.  
 gaṇikā 40.  
 gaṇikā 40.  
 garlands 45.  
 Gautamanyagrodha 99 fn.  
 gavyūta 13 fn.  
*Geist des Ostens* 201 fn.  
 general 89.  
 general-in-chief 90.  
*Geographical Data of the Raghuvamśa* 85 fn.  
*Geography* 11; 49.  
 Ghaghara (Gogra). 51.  
 ghaṭī 15 fn.  
 ghāṭikā 10; 15 fn.

ghaṭikāsthāna 15 fn.  
 ghaṭīyantra 15 fn.  
 ghoṣa 29.  
 ghoṣa 19; 20; 26 fn.  
 ghosa 25; 26.  
 giragga 23.  
 girdle 42.  
 girikandarā 39; 46.  
 girls, humpbacked 96.  
*Glossary* 70; 100.  
 Gogra 64.  
 goharāya parvan 19.  
 goho 142 fn.  
 gokalī 13.  
 gopādhyakṣa 19.  
*Gopinātha Rao* 48 fn.  
 gopura 5; 31; 35; 36.  
 Gorakhpur 66.  
 Gor 14; 37; 101.  
 Gosāla-episode 67.  
 Gosāla Mañkhaliputta 67.  
 gosi 13.  
 Gotamaka 54.  
*Gottinger Gelehrte Nachrichten*  
     23 fn; 52 fn.  
 Governor 76; 79.  
 gowālī 13.  
 grāma 25; 26; 27; 28; 29; 40;  
     26 fn.  
 grāmadhānam 27.  
 grāmarakṣa 36.  
*Grammar (Pāṇini)* 25.  
 grass-sorts 47.  
 griha 80.  
 Grihapati 80.  
 ground 77.  
 ground, tract of 77.  
 guard 79.  
 guardian 77.  
 Guilandina Bonducella 42.

guild 16; 87.  
 guild-head 89.  
 guild, headman of, 88.  
 guild, of a large town 89.  
 guild, the head of 90.  
*Gujjarāh* 106.  
*Gurjarāh* 106.  
*Gnṛupūjā* 185 fn.  
*Gurupūjākaumudi* 180 fn.

**H**

*Hāla* 76.  
*Halāyudha* 28; 39; 104;  
 166 fn.  
 hall 8; 45.  
 hamlet 16; 20.  
*Handelsmann* 14.  
*Haradatta* 14.  
*Hārāvalī* 12.  
 harbour 10.  
*Hardy, E* 23; 57; 59; 67;  
 107 fn; 117 fn.  
*Harīcandra* 45.  
*Harivamśa (Jaina)* 84 fn.  
*Hastipāla* 68.  
*hastivyāpṛta* 93.  
*hastyārohas* 86.  
*Hatthigāma* 64.  
*hatthivāuya* 93.  
 head-bands 76; 89.  
 head-man, of the city 88.  
 head of a village, 73.  
 head of the merchants 199 fn.  
 headquarters of an army 24.  
*Hemacandra* 74; 76; 77;  
 81; 86; 91; 100; 104; 248  
 fn.  
 herdsmen 79.  
 herdsmen-station 19.

*Hertel* 27; 35; 12 fn; 150  
 fn; 163 fn; 171 fn; 201.  
 fn.  
*High-Campā* 50.  
 high-grass 43.  
 hill-caves 46.  
*Hillebrandt* 149 fn.  
*History of Indian Literature*  
 224 fn.  
*Hitopadeśa* 150 fn.  
*Hlasiyā* 103.  
*Hoornlo* 13; 42; 52; 53;  
 58; 62.  
*Hoey, W.* 51; 63.  
 homesteads 80.  
*Hopkins* 26; 31; 87; 66 fn;  
 73 fn; 146 fn; 174 fn; 198  
 fn; 200 fn.  
 Houses 37.  
*Hoysala chiofs* 74.  
*Huen-Tsiang* 59.  
*Hultzsch* 20 fn; 23 fn; 199  
 fn.  
 hurdle 19.  
 husbandman 79.

**I**

*ibbha* 197.  
*Indian Antiquary* 77; 17 fn;  
 20 fn; 26 fn; 34 fn; 38  
 fn; 48 fn; 84 fn; 125 fn;  
 126 fn; 136 fn; 153 fn;  
 157 fn; 168 fn; 169 fn;  
 182 fn; 211 fn; 241 fn.  
*Indian Studien* 100; 92 fn;  
 158 fn; 164 fn; 169 fn;  
 199 fn; 212 fn; 216 fn;  
 228 fn; 268 fn  
*India, Old and New* 195 fn.  
*Indicā* 110; 49 fn; 251 fn.

- Indo germanische Forschungen* 142 fn.
- Indra 96.
- indrakila 31; 32; 34; 35; 36; 58 fn.
- inspection 22.
- īsara 75; 76.
- Isigāṇiyā 101.
- Īsiṇī 101.
- Īsiṇiyā 101.
- īśvara 75; 76.
- I-tsing 55.
- J**
- Jacobi 24; 37; 42; 43; 49; 50; 52; 62; 36 fn; 63 fn; 241 fn.
- jala 36 fn.
- jalayarā 36 fn.
- Jambudvīpaprajñapti* 76; 98; 100; 103; 107.
- Jambugāma 64.
- jānagiha 41.
- jānasālā 41.
- jānasāliya 93.
- JAOS* 42 fn; 50 fn; 66 fn; 73 fn; 174 fn.
- JASB* 51; 129 fn.
- jasmine 38.
- Jasamsa 53.
- Jātakas* 84; 90; 92; 41 fn; 59 fn.
- Jātiyāvana 58.
- Jayacandra 182 fn.
- Jetavana 41 fn.
- Jinist works 111.
- jīrṇodyāna 48.
- Jiyasattū 53; 54.
- Jñātādharmasūtrapāṭha* 74; 76; 97; 101; 102; 103;
- 106; 107; 180 fn,  
jodha 90.  
Jogī Koṭ 59.  
johā 70.  
Jolly 17; 180 fn; 185 fn.  
Jonīya 102.  
*JRAS* 51; 32 fn; 87 fn; 88 fn; 111 fn; 112 fn; 115 fn; 117 fn; 127 fn; 128 fn; 130 fn; 151 fn; 175 fn; 196 fn; 211 fn..  
judge 73; 151 fn.

**K**

- kalā 86.
- Kalhaṇa 74.
- Kalpāntaravācyāni* 98; 102; . 103; 106; 107.
- Kalpasūtra* 1; 2; 5; 6; 7; 8; 17; 18; 20; 21; 25; 38; 47; 49; 52; 54; 62; 68; 71; 72; 73; 75; 76; 78; 79; 83; 85; 86; 96; 64 fn; 136 fn; 178 fn; 193 fn
- Kalpasūtra-Comm.* 10; 11; 12; 13; 14.
- Kāmandaki 74; 75; 91; 177 fn.
- Kāmasūtra* 86; 105.
- Kammāraputta 65.
- Kanauj 60; 182 fn.
- Kaṇavera-Jātaka* 25; 48 fn.
- Kāñcīpura 48 fn.
- Kañcuijja 96.
- Kapilavatthu 68.
- kapiśīrṣaka 32; 33; 34.
- kapiśīaka 34.
- karabāla 77; 166 fn.
- karabālikā 77; 166 fn;
- karahakaṭa 15; 20 fn.
- karapāla 77; 166 fn.

- |                        |   |                |                           |
|------------------------|---|----------------|---------------------------|
| karapālikā             | 166 fn.   | kheṭaka        | 27; 29.                   |
| karavāla               | 78; 166 fn.   | khodaka        | 33.                       |
| karavālikā             | 166 fn.   | khodakaśīrṣaka | 33.                       |
| karaveṭa               | 29.   | khoṭakaśīras   | 33.                       |
| karbaṭa                | 7.  | khoṭaśīrṣa     | 33; 53 fn.                |
| Karle-Inscription      | 83 fn.  | khoṭhaka       | 33.                       |
| Karmasaciva            | 177 fn.   | Kielhorn       | F. 25; 81; 125 fn.        |
| Karnagad               | 50.   | king           | 90.                       |
| Karnāṭakāḥ             | 106.  | Kirāta         | 100; 109; 110.            |
| karpaṭaka              | 7.  | Kirfel         | W. 84 fn; 221 fn; 231 fn. |
| kārṣāpana              | 94.   | Kitāgiri       | 59; 116 fn.               |
| kārtāntika             | 84.   | Klasse         | 150 fn.                   |
| kārukāveśana           | 48.   | knap-sack      | 31 fn.                    |
| karvaṭaka              | 27; 29.   | koḍumbiya      | 79; 169 fn.               |
| karvāṭikā              | 29.   | Koeppen        | 140 fn.                   |
| Kāsi                   | 116 fn.   | Kollāga        | 53; 54.                   |
| Kasiā                  | 64.   | Kolluā         | 97 fn.                    |
| Kāsi-Kosalagā          | 72.   | Konow          | 187 fn; 248 fn.           |
| Kāṣṭha                 | 47.   | Kośalaka       | 49.                       |
| kāṣṭhakarmānta         | 39; 44.   | kośas          | 68; 112.                  |
| Kathākoṣa              | 76; 150 fn.   | koṭ            | 38 fn.                    |
| Kathāsaritsāgara       | 17; 20; 75;<br>79 fn.                                     | koṭaśīras      | 33.                       |
| kauṭumbika             | 79; 82.   | Kotigāma       | 54                        |
| kāvaṭikā               | 7.  | koṭṭa          | 24; 29.                   |
| kavisīsaga             | 31.   | koṭṭadurga     | 28.                       |
| kavvada                | 7.  | koṭṭapāla      | 38 fn.                    |
| Keith                  | 82; 181 fn; 242 fn;<br>245 fn; 247 fn; 249 fn;<br>250 fn. | koṭṭarāja      | 38 fn.                    |
| Kern                   | 23; 33 fn; 121 fn; 199<br>fn.                             | kramaśīrsa     | 33; 53 fn.                |
| khaḍayam               | 27.   | kravyaśīrsa    | 32; 33.                   |
| khahayarā              | 36 fn.  | kṣatriya       | 70.                       |
| Khambhat, the Gulf of, | 17 fn.  | Kṣemendra      | 86; 150 fn.               |
| kharvaṭa               | 26.   | kṣudrapattana  | 7.                        |
| kharvaṭika             | 7.  | Ktesias        | 100.                      |
| khaṭaka                | 33.   | kulas          | 80.                       |
| kheda                  | 6.  | Kulluka        | 39; 40; 73 fn; 145<br>fn. |
| Kheṭa                  | 25; 9 fn; 26 fn.  | kunagara       | 7.                        |
|                        |   | Kundagāma      | 52; 53.                   |
|                        |   | Kundapura      | 52.                       |

Kūṇika 93.  
kupyādhyakṣa 44.  
Kuraghara 110 fn.  
Kuśinagara 64.  
Kusinagara 64.  
Kusinārā 64; 65; 68.  
*Kuṭadanta-Sutta* 31 fn.  
kuṭṭima 32.  
kuṭṭimabhedā 32.  
kuṭumbas 80.  
kuṭumbika 80.  
Kuṭumbin 80.

**L**

Lakuśā 104.  
Lampāka 248 fn;  
Laṅkā 37.  
Lausā 104.  
Lausiyā 104.  
Law 157 fn.  
leader of a gaṇa 71.  
lopas 46.  
Leumann 6; 8; 70; 79; 100;  
    122 fn; 209 fn; 220 fn;  
    223 fn; 229 fn.  
Lévi 108 fn; 110 fn; 121 fn;  
    231 fn; 248 fn.

Lexicographical literature 30.  
Lhasiya (Lhāsiya) 103.  
Licchavi 53; 54; 70; 72.  
Licchaviputra 70.  
*Life of Buddha* 100 fn; 122 fn;  
    124 fn.

lintel 34.  
lipi 238 fn.  
liquor 42.  
*List (LUDERŚ)* 8; 15; 16;  
    40; 79; 88; 89; 91; 48 fn.  
*List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* 6.  
literature, Brahmanical 112.

*Local Government* 16.  
*Local Government* 16; 67  
    fn; 144 fn.  
lord 75.  
lord of kings 75.  
love-tax 82.  
*Luderś* 6; 8; 15; 40; 46; 79;  
    88; 89; 91; 20 fn; 48 fn.

**M**

Macdonell 82; 181 fn; 242  
    fn; 245 fn; 247; 249 fn;  
    250 fn.  
madamba 8; 9; 29; 78,  
mūḍambika 78; 79; 92.  
māḍambya 78.  
Magistrates 68.  
*Mahābhārata* 19; 24; 26; 44;  
    49; 101; 104; 105; 110;  
    30 fn; 122 fn; 208 fn.  
*Mahābhāṣya* 32; 212 fn.  
mahādanḍanāyaka 151 fn.  
mahāmanti 71; 82.  
mahāmantrin 82; 83; 92; 180  
    fn.  
mahāmātra 83.  
mahāmātya 83.  
*Mahāmāyūri* 57; 62; 104.  
*Mahāparinibbāṇasutta* 34.  
mahāpratihāra 84.  
Mahārāṣṭrāḥ 106.  
mahāsenāpati 90.  
*Mahāsudassanasutta* 34.  
mahāthera 45.  
mahattara 96.  
*Mahāvagga* 54; 55; 58; 61; 65;  
    117 fn.  
Mahāvira 50; 51; 52; 54; 65;  
    66; 67; 68; 94; 95; 103;  
    136 fn.

- Mahāyuṇḍatti 29; 33; 35; 42;  
     46; 74; 75; 90; 38 fn; 81  
     fn; 166 fn.  
 Mahendrapāladeva (Mahā-  
     rāja) 63.  
 mahīśi 66.  
 maintenance 94.  
 Maṇḍikirianilāya 69, 65; 31 fn;  
     81 fn; 107 fn; 119 fn.  
 Mujamdar (R. C.) 16; 23;  
     40; 71.  
*Mātarikāgnimitra* 10.  
 Malla 15; 66; 70; 72.  
 Malla-knight 68.  
 Malla-Pārā 65.  
 Malla-territory 68.  
 Mallin Pukkusa 65.  
 man 142 fn.  
 maṇica 23.  
 maṇjali 75.  
 Maṇjaliika 75.  
 maṇjalikarāja 75.  
 maṇjapa 8.  
 maṇjapa-maṇjapika 79.  
 Mandara 65.  
 maṇḍavi 79.  
 Māṇjhī 51.  
*Mañkhakosī* 12; 25; 32; 39;  
     42.  
 Maṇjapa 8.  
 manti 82.  
 mantrin 82; 83.  
 mantripariṣadadhyakṣa 178  
     fn.  
*Manual of Buddhism* 57; 59;  
     67; 117 fn; 121 fn.  
*Manusmṛti* 4; 39; 46; 48; 73;  
     105; 24 fn; 73 fn; 145 fn.  
*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* 27; 45;  
     110; 218 fn.
- market, covered, 41.  
 Marshall 151 fn.  
 Marundai 110.  
 maṭimbā 14 fn.  
*Materia Medica* 76 fn.  
*Ma-teuen-jin* 108.  
 matisaciva 177 fn.  
*Matsyapurāṇa* 37.  
 mauhūrtika 84.  
 Maurya-epoch 95.  
*Medinikosa* 86; 100.  
 Megasthenes 216 fn; 243  
     fn.  
 Meissner 172 fn.  
 mekhālā 42.  
 Melanges 248 fn.  
 merchandise 81.  
 merchants 20.  
 merchants, rich 88.  
 merchants, wholesale 91.  
 military corps 71.  
 military functionary 74.  
 mine 32.  
 minister of peace 91.  
*Miscellaneous Essays* 140 fn.  
*Mitākyarā* 4; 7; 17.  
 Mithilā 49; 54; 56.  
 Mleechas 111.  
*Moharājoparājaya* 17.  
 Molindae 248 fn.  
 money 81.  
 Mookerji 16; 40; 71.  
*Myechakaṇika* 32.  
 Miṭapā 44.  
 mukhyamantrin 83..  
*Mūla-Saṃdeśitādin* 62.  
 mule-tracks 22.  
 Munisundara 171 fn.  
 murūḍa 248 fn.  
 Murugī 108.

- mūrvā 42.  
 Muzaffarpur 51.
- N
- nāara 87.  
 nagara 5; 25; 26; 27; 28; 29; 36;  
     40; 52; 61; 87; 88; 26 fn;  
     31 fn.  
 nāgara 87.  
 nagaradvāra 35.  
 nagaraguptika 36.  
 nagaraguttika 36.  
 nagaraguttiya 36; 87; 93.  
 nagarakhetā 6.  
 nagara-setṭhi 86.  
 nagara-śreṣṭhin 88; 89.  
 nagari 28; 29.  
 Nagar-Sheṭh 88; 198 fn.  
 naigama 14; 15; 16; 17; 86.  
 Naik-kingdom 77.  
 naimittika 84.  
 Nālanda 49; 52; 55; 67.  
 nandyāvarta 37.  
 nāpita 86.  
*Nāradasmṛti* 4; 5; 17.  
 Nāsik-Cave-inscription 75.  
 Nāsikyas 102.  
 Nātaputta 65.  
*Naturalis Historica* 109; 248  
     fn.  
 Navadevakula 59.  
 Nāya-clan 53.  
 nāyaka 74; 86; 191 fn.  
 nayara 87.  
 Nāyaputta 52.  
 nectar 42.  
 negama 13; 16.  
 nekama 16.  
*Nemicandra* 99; 104; 111;  
     141 fn.
- Nepal hills 66.  
 neutram 75 fn.  
 Newal 59.  
 nigama 13; 14; 15; 17; 87;  
     88; 89; 41 fn; 199 fn.  
 nigamāgamo 41 fn.  
 nigamaghāṭa 41 fn.  
 nigama, inhhbitant of 17.  
 nigamaputa 16; 20 fn.  
 nigama-setṭhi 86.  
 nigama-śreṣṭhin 88.  
*Nīlakanṭha* 24; 44; 49; 86;  
     30 fn.  
 nimna 36 fn.  
 nīrājana-ceremony 45.  
*Nirayāvaliāo* 99.  
*Nītisāra* 25; 74; 75; 177 fn.  
*Nītivākyāmṛta* 83; 91.  
 niveśa 14.  
 Noldeke 103.  
 notabilities 84.
- O
- officials 83; 84; 112.  
 officials, civil 92.  
 Officials, king's 93.  
 Officials, military 92.  
 Oldenberg 34.  
 Olshausen 103.  
 Oppert 42.  
 Oppian 248 fn..  
 Otto Walter 49 fn.  
 Ou-lun 108.
- P
- paccaka-grass 43.  
*Padacandrikā* 15.  
*Pādamūlika* 85.  
 pāgāra 31.  
 pahlava 103; 109.

- Pāiyalacchī 27.  
 pakkaṇa 107; 110.  
 Pakkaṇi 107.  
 pakvāṇa 107.  
 Pakvāṇi 107.  
 Paleza Ghāṭ 51.  
 Pāli-Dictionary 22.  
 pallī 19; 20; 80; 81.  
 pallīgloṣa 26.  
 pallipati 20.  
*Pañcākhyāna* 43b.  
*Pañcākhyānaka* 41 fn.  
*Pañcatantra* 35; 81, 147 fn.  
 Pāṇini 6; 32.  
 Paṇitabhūmi 49; 62.  
 Paniyabūmi 63.  
 Pāniyakagrāma 63.  
 Pannakālaga 62.  
 paṇyāgāra 41.  
 pāpyāgārīka 41.  
 paṇyagṛha 39; 40; 41; 47.  
 paṇyapatṭana 16 fn.  
 paṇyapattana 16 fn.  
 paṇyaśāla 40; 41; 48.  
 Pāpā 49; 63; 66.  
 pappaka 43.  
 pappakammamta 39; 43.  
 Pappaur 64.  
*Paramatthajātaka* 61; 107 fn.  
 Pāraśavas 109; 110.  
 Pārasika 109.  
 Pārasis 108.  
 Pārgiter 110; 218 fn; 247  
     fn.  
 parikhā 32; 36.  
 pariṣat 22.  
*Parīṣṭaparvan* 81.  
 Parśu 109.  
 parthava 103.  
 Parvata durga 24 fn.
- paśatthar 70.  
 paśatthāra 90.  
 Pasenadi 58; 60.  
 pasture-land 20.  
 Pāśupatas 17.  
 Pāṭalimīṭra 84 fn.  
 Pāṭaliputra 50; 57.  
 Patañjali 25; 30; 32.  
 Pātimokkha 34.  
 paṭṭam 27.  
 paṭṭana 9; 11; 29.  
 paṭṭanāgara 6.  
 patṭapa 9; 11; 14; 26; 27;  
     28; 29; 16 fn; 26 fn;  
     30 fn.  
 Paulkasa 245 fn.  
 Pausijā 102.  
 pavittivānya 94.  
 pavākarapa 39; 40.  
 Pāvā 63; 64; 65; 66; 68; 136  
     fn; 140 fn.  
 Pāvāpura 64.  
 Pāveyyaka 66.  
 pavittivāuya 95.  
 peace and war, minister of  
     91.  
 pearl-fisher-station 10.  
 perfume 38; 45.  
*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*  
     11.  
 Persians 109.  
 Peterson 14; 252 fn.  
 phaliha 31.  
 Philostratos 20.  
 phlegm 9 fn.  
 pīḍhamadda 85.  
 Pietism 96.  
 pilgrims, chīnese 110.  
 pillar-edict 40.

- Pischel 77; 89; 10 fn; 193  
     'fn; 214 fn.
- pīṭha 85.
- pīṭhamarda 85; 86; 92; 191  
     fn.
- plant 42.
- Plinius 109; 248 fn.
- police-man 150 fn.
- polce-master 73; 150 fn.
- police, the head of, 77.
- porch 8.
- Prajñāpanā* 98; 103; 104.
- prākāra 5; 6; 32; 33; 34; 36.
- Prākrit grammar* 100; 214 fn.
- Prākrit Grammatik*, 89; 10 fn;  
     193 fn.
- Prākrit-inscriptions 89.
- prakṛti 71.
- prakṛtimahattarā 71.
- prapā 40; 47; 48; 74 fn.
- prapāvika 40.
- Prasastṛ 70.
- Praśnavyākaraṇasūtra* 8.
- Praśnavyākaraṇasūtaravyāk-*  
     *hyāna* 11; 24 fn.
- pratihāra 84.
- pratodadhārakā 93.
- pratodayaṣṭi 93; 207 fn.
- Pravacanasāroddhāra* 99;  
     104; 111; 141 fn.
- pravṛttivyāpṛta 94.
- prekṣaṇa 48.
- presents 82; 94.
- prickle-staff 207 fn.
- pritiḍāna 94.
- Prsthicampā 49; 50.
- Ptolemaios 11; 109; 110;  
     248 fn.
- Pukkali 107.
- pukkasa 45; 107.
- Pulinda 20; 108; 109; 110.
- Pulindai Agrjophagoi 110.
- Pulindīs 106.
- Pulkasa 107.
- Punabbasu 116 fn.
- Puṇḍra 108.
- pura 26; 27; 29; 26 fn.
- Purāṇas 26; 30; 50; 68; 101;  
     102; 111; 112.
- puraviśeṣaḥ 16 fn.
- purī 29.
- Pūrṇabhadra 35; 41 fn;  
     43b.
- Pūrṇabhadra-caitya 68.
- Puṣkarasārin 12.
- puta 31 fn.
- putabhedana 15; 20; 22; 28;  
     29; 16 fn; 31 fn.
- puṭāṁśa 31 fn.
- puṭosenāpi 31 fn.
- R
- Raghuvamśa* 32.
- rāīsara 75.
- rājā 68.
- rājadhānī 28; 29.
- Rājagrha 49; 52; 55; 56; 58;  
     59; 60; 66; 67; 140 fn.
- rājakula 35.
- rājamārga 31.
- rājanaya 70.
- Rājaprāśnīya* 34; 100.
- Rājaprāśnīya-comm* 8; 11.
- rājapriya 86.
- rājaputra 20 fn.
- Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 5; 17; 74; 83;  
     84; 91.
- rājeśvara 75.
- Rājgīr 55.
- rajjusabhā 136 fn.
- rājyasandhirakṣaka 91.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Rājyātantra 73.   | <i>S'abdacandrikā</i> 32.                     |
| Rāmārāmī 9. .   | <i>S'abdakalpadruma</i> 12; 32.               |
| Rāmāyaṇa 14; 17; 19; 32; 35; 37; 41; 44; 56; 101; 101; 105. | sabhā 39; 40; 47; 48.<br><i>S'ablaṅka</i> 33. |
| Rapson 227 fn.  | Sachau 251 fn.                                |
| Rāṣṭravāsi 106.   | Saciva 82; 177 fn.                            |
| rāṣṭrika 79.  | Saila 47.                                     |
| rathacaryā 31.  | Śailagṛha 83 fn.                              |
| rathavinitā 60.   | Śailopasthūnakarmānta 39.                     |
| rathin 86.  | Saiṇhāśas 103.                                |
| Ratnayoni 9.  | Sakas 108.                                    |
| raṭṭha 61.  | Saketa 58; 60; 68.                            |
| raṭṭhika 79.  | Śākhaugara 27.                                |
| Rāvaṇa 41.  | Śākhāpura 28.                                 |
| rawārī 13.  | Sakka 96.                                     |
| rāyahāṇī 17.  | Sakka-country 65; 66.                         |
| reconciliator, of angry women 86.                           | <i>S'ākuntala</i> 100.                        |
| reed-grass 43.  | Sāmagāma 65.                                  |
| relay-posts 60.   | Samāja 22; 23; 29; 48.                        |
| religious-community 71.                                     | Samujiko 22.                                  |
| retinue 96.   | saṃnjā 22.                                    |
| Rhys Davids 11; 34; 51; 134 fn.                             | Samāya 22; 23.                                |
| Rhys Davids (Mrs.) 88.                                      | <i>Samayamātrikā</i> 86.                      |
| rice-bowl 67.   | saṃbhādha 18.                                 |
| Riṣṭika 101.  | Sambāhā 18.                                   |
| Rock-edict 22.  | Samdhigṛha 47.                                |
| Rock-edict, of Aśoka 105.                                   | saṃghoṣa 27.                                  |
| Rockhill, W.W. 100 fn; 107 fn; 122 fn; 124 fn.              | Samniveṣa 27.                                 |
| Rśabha 52.  | saṃstyāyas 25.                                |
| Rśikā 101; 110.   | Samudragupta 108.                             |
| Rūdradāman 82; 177 fn.                                      | saṃvāha 17; 18; 19; 25 fn.                    |
| rukhamūla 81 fn.  | saṃvarta 24.                                  |
| S   | Saṃvartakoṭṭa 24.                             |
| Sabara 109; 110.  | Sāñchi-Stūpa-Inscription 110 fn.              |
| Sabarī 108.   | sanctuaries 39.                               |
|   | sandhipāla 91.                                |
|   | sāndhivigrāhaka 91.                           |
|   | sāndhivigrāhika 91.                           |
|   | Safijaya 110.                                 |

- Sanniveśa 13.  
 Sansevieria Roxburghiana 42.  
 śānti 39; 47.  
 Śāntyāgāra 45.  
 sārandada 54.  
 sārtha 24.  
 sārthanāyaka 90.  
 sārthavāha 89; 90.  
*S'āśvata* 27; 39; 42.  
*S'atapatha* 45; 77 fn.  
 Sattambaka 54.  
*Sattasai* 76.  
 satthavāha 90; 91.  
 śāvarādhipa 20.  
 Sāvatthī 60; 68; 117 fn.  
*S. B. D.* 17; 49; 52; 31 fn;  
     36 fn; 39 fn; 54 fn; 55  
     fn; 60 fn; 91 fn; 227 fn.  
 Schmidt 150 fn; 161 fn;  
     189 fn.  
 Scholion 76.  
 Schubring 20.  
 Seal-inscriptions 16.  
 Sedhi 89; 203 fn.  
 Sejjamsa 53.  
 selaghara 83 fn.  
 senānāyaka 74.  
 senāpati 74; 89; 90; 202 fn;  
     204 fn.  
 senāskandhvāra 23.  
 senāvai 70; 85; 89; 90.  
 senīvai 89; 90.  
 Seniya 90.  
 Seniya Bimbisāra 56.  
 sergeant 70.  
 servant-girls 97.  
 sethipamukha 88.  
 setṭhi 85; 87; 88; 89; 203 fn.  
 settlements 24; 25; 26; 29; 112.  
 Shā-che 58; 59; 60.  
 Shāmaśāstry 22.  
 shodaka 33.  
 Siddhānta 26; 76; 111.  
 Siddhartha 53; 54; 68.  
 Siddhasenāsūri 111.  
 Simhala 109; 110.  
 Simhaladvīpa 106.  
 Simhali 106.  
 Siñthali 106.  
 siṣṭi 89.  
 sitthi 89.  
 Śivaskandhavarman 5; 29; 14  
     fn; 48 fn.  
 skandhavāra 28; 29.  
 slave 85.  
 Slave-girls 112.  
 śmaśāna 44; 45; 77 fn; 79 fn.  
 śmāśānakarmānta 39; 44; 45.  
 Smith 20; 51; 53; 59; 63; 64;  
     34 fn; 85 fn; 90 fn; 111  
     fn; 117 fn; 133 fn; 211 fn.  
 Snuhī 42.  
 Soliers 70.  
 Somadevasūri 83.  
*Sonadantasutta* 31 fn.  
 sorcerers 44.  
 Sorensen. 246 fn.  
*SPA* 20 fn.  
 specials 93.  
 Spooner 105 fn.  
 spurge 42.  
 spy 83.  
 Śrāvasti 49; 53; 54; 56; 57; 58;  
     59; 60; 63; 65; 116 fn.  
 Śrāvasti-bhukti 63.  
 śreṇī 89; 203 fn.  
 Śreṇika 90.  
 Śreṇika Bimbisāra 57.  
 śreṇimukha 90.  
 śreṇipati 89; 90.

- śreṣṭhin 89; 203 fn.  
 Śri 89.  
 Śrinālānda 55.  
 State-officials 68.  
 stay 45.  
 sthala 23; 36 fn.  
 sthāntya 22; 28; 29.  
 store-houses 41; 83.  
*Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity* 234 fn.  
 Subhadrā 96.  
 substitutes of the king. 73.  
 sucī 199 fn.  
 Saddhodana 68.  
 sudhā 42; 47.  
 sudhikarmānta 39; 42.  
 Sūkṣmaprati 76; 150 fn.  
 Sūlapāni 49.  
 Sundarakāṇḍa 38.  
 sunīhāgūra 82 fn.  
 sūnyāgūra 39; 45; 46.  
 sūnyālaya 81 fn.  
 supaṭṭana 15 fn.  
 surākarmānta 42.  
 susānagopaka 45; 79 fn.  
 susānagopikā 44.  
 Sūtrakṛt 12; 17; 25; 43; 52; 53; 82 fn.  
 Sūtrakṛt (*Dīpikā*) 1; 2; 3; 5; 6; 7; 9; 11; 13; 14.  
 Sūtra style 24.  
 Suttanivāta 61; 62; 68.  
 Suttaribhāga 35.  
 svastika 37; 38.  
 S W A 31 fn; 37 fn; 154 fn;  
     177 fn; 179 fn; 182 fn; 184  
     fn; 186 fn; 204 fn; 205 fn.  
 sword 77.
- T
- Tailangūḥ 106.
- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| tala                                  | 77.                                    |
| talāra                                | 76; 77.                                |
| talārakāṇḍa                           | 76; 77.                                |
| talāraputta                           | 76.                                    |
| talārika                              | 76.                                    |
| talavara                              | 76; 77; 78; 92.                        |
| talavāra                              | 77.                                    |
| talavāri                              | 77.                                    |
| talayāris                             | 77.                                    |
| talvār                                | 77.                                    |
| Tāmaliptikā                           | 49.                                    |
| Tāmbapūṇi                             | 106.                                   |
| Tāmraparī                             | 106.                                   |
| tantradhvīra                          | 73.                                    |
| Tantrākhyāna                          | 30; 35; 73.                            |
| Tanvālkhyāyikā                        | 27; 81; 12 fn;<br>171 fn.              |
| tantrapūla                            | 73.                                    |
| tarabālikā                            | 77.                                    |
| Taravara                              | 166 fn.                                |
| taravāri                              | 77; 78; 166 fn.                        |
| tarwūl                                | 78.                                    |
| Tathāgata                             | 44.                                    |
| Tawney                                | 150 fn; 162 fn.                        |
| tax                                   | 5; 81; 82.                             |
| templo                                | 39; 45.                                |
| thalayāra                             | 36 fn.                                 |
| theatre                               | 23; 35 fn.                             |
| <i>The Cambridge History of India</i> | 135 fn; 241 fn.                        |
| Theragāthā                            | 3.                                     |
| Thomas, F. W.                         | 22; 23.                                |
| threshold                             | 34; 35.                                |
| timber-construction                   | 41.                                    |
| tirthas                               | 84.                                    |
| tirttaka                              | 67.                                    |
| titles, of officials                  | 112.                                   |
| toll                                  | 22.                                    |
| torapa                                | 31; 32; 36.                            |
| torapaśira                            | 31; 32; 36.                            |
| town                                  | 8; 14; 15; 21; 38; 87<br>16 fn; 31 fn. |

- Town Authorities 36.  
 town, fortified, 36.  
 town-officer 36.  
 town, of the śreṣṭhis, 16.  
 town, sons of, 16.  
 trade, board of, 16.  
 trade-place 16 fn; 31 fn.  
 trader 14; 16; 87.  
 trade-routes 22.  
 trader, pious 199 fn.  
 traders, body of, 16; 17; 20 fn.  
 trader's place 15; 17; 87.  
 traders, wealthy 198 fn.
- Travels* 59.
- tree 42.
- tribes, of India 111.
- tribute 81.
- Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* 11; 33.
- Triśalā 54.
- tūpapuraṇ 28.
- U
- Udānam* 31 fn.
- Udena 54.
- Ueber das Kautilīya sāstr* 149 fn.
- Ulloca 64 fn.
- Ulloya 64 fn.
- Uṇādiṇaṇa-ūtra* 166 fn.
- Upadeśaratnākara* 171 fn.
- Upāli 67.
- Upasthāna 45.
- upasthānakarmānta 45; 47.
- Uttarādhayana* 1; 3; 5; 6; 7; 19; 20; 22; 23; 24; 25; 30; 31; 52.
- Uttarādhayana*-comn. 8; 9; 11; 12; 13; 14; 17; 18.
- Uttarādhayana* (trans.) 37.
- Uvāsagadasāo*, translation of,
- 13; 42; 52; 53; 58; 90; 113  
 fn; 123 fn; 138 fn.
- V
- Vācaspati 7; 12; 14; 16 fn.
- vaddha 43.
- vaddhakammamta 39; 43.
- Vādirājasūri 150 fn.
- vāhana 93.
- vāhanaśalā 93.
- Vāhlikas 110.
- Vaijayanṭi* 39; 42; 48; 86; 104; 16 fn; 31 fn; 166 fn; 248 fn.
- Vaiśalī 49; 50; 51; 52; 54; 55.
- Vaiśalian 52; 54.
- Vaiśalika 53.
- vājiśalā 48.
- Vajrabhūmi 62.
- Vakusikā 102.
- Valabhi 101.
- Vālīyikā-viṣaya 63.
- valet 85.
- Vallabhīyā 101.
- Vanasthānas 26.
- Vāṇijagrāma 49; 50; 53; 54.
- vanikputra 20 fn.
- Vāṇiyagāma 52; 55.
- vappa 31.
- vapra 5; 31; 32.
- var 77.
- Varāhamihira 35; 37; 45; 49; 71; 74; 75; 100; 110.
- vāra 77.
- Varanā 104.
- Vardhamāna 38; 49; 50.
- vardhamānagṛha 37.
- Vardhamāna Mahāvīra 62 fn.
- Vardhamānapura 49; 84 fn.
- varisavara 96.
- Vāsaganīya 102.
- Vasikas 102.

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|--|---|
| <p>Vāsithīputa Siri Palumāyi 75; 79; 86; 105.</p> <p><i>Vāyu Purāṇa</i> 110; 26 fn.</p> <p>Vausī 102.</p> <p>vedana 94.</p> <p><i>Vedic Index</i> 181; 173 fn; 212 fn.</p> <p>Vedic texts 107.</p> <p>veh.cles, official of. 93.</p> <p>Venkatisubba ah 48 fn.</p> <p><i>Verzeichnis der Sanskrit und Prākrit-Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek</i> 92 fn; 158 fn; 159 fn; 210 fn; 252 fn.</p> <p>Vesāli 50; 52; 53; 54; 65.</p> <p>veśamadyānnavikraya 48.</p> <p>Veśyācārya 84; 86.</p> <p>Vest, W 51; 112 fn; 117 fn.</p> <p><i>Fetūlapañcavimśati</i> 44.</p> <p>vetana 94.</p> <p>Vēṭhadīpa 64; 130 fn.</p> <p>Videhadattā 54.</p> <p>vihāra 22.</p> <p>Vijayanagara 74.</p> <p>village 8.</p> <p>Village Authorities 36.</p> <p>village guild 89.</p> <p><i>Vinaya</i> 62</p> <p>Vindhyadakṣinavāsināḥ 106.</p> <p><i>Viramitrodaya</i> 5.</p> <p>Virāṭa 86.</p> <p><i>Viṣṇu Purāṇa</i> 110; 24 fn.</p> <p>viṭa 188 fn.</p> <p><i>Virāharatnākara</i> 5.</p> <p>Voey 63.</p> <p>Vokkāṇa 110.</p> <p>vraja 27.</p> <p>vrddha 75 fn.</p> <p>W</p> <p>wall, top edge of, 32.</p> | <p>ware-house 41.</p> <p>watchman 77.</p> <p>water clock 15 fn.</p> <p>water-ways 22.</p> <p>weapons 31.</p> <p>Weber, A. 52; 77; 78; 100; 101; 107; 158 fn; 159 fn; 169 fn; 210 fn; 212 fn; 215 fn; 219 fn; 222 fn; 229 fn; 230 fn; 232 fn; 233 fn; 236 fn; 239 fn; 243 fn; 252 fn; 253 fn.</p> <p>Weiler 20.</p> <p>wells 40.</p> <p>whitewash 42.</p> <p>Winternitz 108 fn; 207 fn.</p> <p>wooden structure 41.</p> <p>workshop 39.</p> <p>Y</p> <p><i>Yājñavalkya Smṛti</i> 4; 7.</p> <p><i>Yajurveda</i> 83.</p> <p><i>Yale Review</i> 195 fn.</p> <p>yānaśūla 39; 41; 47.</p> <p>yānaśūlika 93.</p> <p>Yaśahpāla 17.</p> <p>Yaśodharacarita 150 fn.</p> <p>yavanas 110.</p> <p>yavanikā 102.</p> <p>yodhā 70.</p> <p>young grass 74 fn.</p> <p>yuvamahārāja 48 fn.</p> <p>yuvārāja 75.</p> <p>Z</p> <p>Zachariae 12; 28; 33; 42; 64 fn; 149 fn.</p> <p><i>ZDMG</i> 20 fn; 27 fn; 29 fn; 163 fn; 199 fn.</p> <p>Zimmer 81.</p> |
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# THE JINIST STUDIES

BY

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